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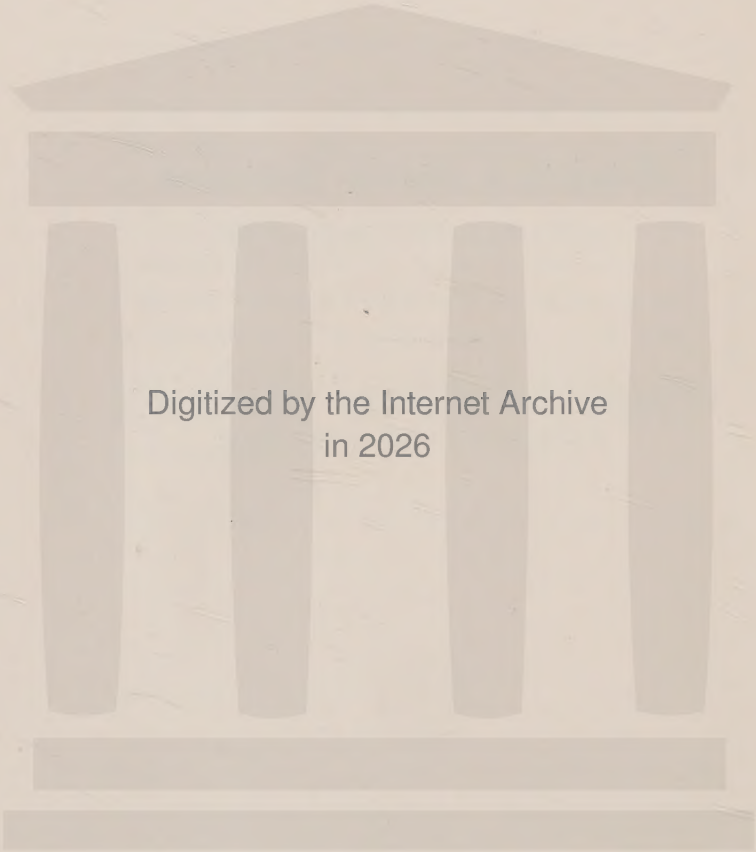
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOLUME IV

STUART POLITICS IN CHAPMAN'S *TRAGEDY OF CHABOT*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STUART POLITICS IN CHAPMAN'S *TRAGEDY OF CHABOT*

BY
NORMA DOBIE SOLVE

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N. D. S.

July 25, 1928
Ann Arbor, Michigan

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"It serves not a skilful painter's turn to draw the figure of a face only to make known who it represents; but he must limn, give lustre, shadow, and heightening; which though ignorants will esteem spiced, and too curious, yet such as have the judicial perspective will see it hath motion, spirit and life."

"In my opinion, that which being with a little endeavor searched, adds a kind of majesty to Poesy, is better than that which every cobbler may sing to his patch."

"I know that empty and dark spirits will complain of palpable night; but those that beforehand have a radiant and light-bearing intellect, will say they can pass through Corinna's garden without the help of a lantern."

— Dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*

STUART POLITICS IN CHAPMAN'S *TRAGEDY OF CHABOT*

CHAPTER I

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE TRAGEDY OF CHABOT*

THE interest of critics in George Chapman's *The Tragedy of Chabot* has almost entirely centered upon investigations of its source, its date, and its authorship, to the exclusion of any attempts at interpretation. In a very careful study of the first question Professor Koeppel has conclusively traced the greater part of the play to the ninth chapter, sixteenth book, of Étienne Pasquier's *Les Recherches de la France,* which appeared in editions of 1607, 1611, and 1621.[1] Although he demonstrates definitely that Pasquier was used as a source, there are gaps in Professor Koeppel's study which he admits. He points out that much of the action cannot be accounted for by *Les Recherches,* but dismisses these discrepancies as of no especial consequence to his proof. Although not inclined to attribute them to Chapman's invention, he believes that they may be found in some other French history, known to Chapman, but not yet unearthed.

Professor Parrott, accepting Professor Koeppel's discovered source, carries the study into the matter of date.[2] He shows that details are used in the play which are not to be found in the edition of 1607. He establishes, therefore, an approximate

[1] Emil Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's.* 1897.

[2] Thomas Marc Parrott, *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Tragedies.* 1910.

date, still very far from definite, which was any time after the 1611 edition of *Les Recherches* and before the death of Chapman in 1634. Dr. Lehman, speaking of the date, concludes: "It seems probable that Chapman had written *Chabot* about 1621 or 1622. He had been engaged upon translations and non-dramatic poetry from 1613 to 1621, but after the latter date he would have been free to return to dramatic composition."[3] Hence, in the study of this second question also, we find uncertainty with a wide range of possibilities.

The third problem of the play with which critics have been concerned, namely its authorship, is due to its title-page which, when published in 1639, announced that *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admiral of France* was written by George Chapman and James Shirley. Joint authorship is usually but a rock upon which to founder. But, in this instance, the use of French history, a field preëmpted by Chapman in the period, would indicate that he originated the idea of the play. Moreover, the wide divergence between the characteristic work of these two men makes a comparatively definite solution possible. The investigation of the respective shares of Chapman and Shirley in this drama has been carried to such satisfactory conclusions by Dr. Lehman and Professor Parrott that I can do no better than to state their results here. Since Professor Parrott's summary of the evidence is later than Dr. Lehman's and includes the results of the latter, I shall quote from him.

"Collaboration," he says, "in the proper sense of the word is almost incredible between Chapman and Shirley. The great disparity of years between them — Chapman was born in 1559, Shirley in 1596 — would be, perhaps, even less a bar than the complete unlikeness of their conceptions of the drama, particularly of tragedy, their methods of construction, their diction and versification. Chapman, as we have seen, believed firmly in the moral purpose of tragedy, 'sententious excitation to virtue.' To Shirley, as to his master Fletcher, a tragedy was primarily a stage-play, a thing of effects calculated to provoke surprise, and at its best to touch

[3] *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admirall of France,* ed. Ezra Lehman, p. 25.

the sensibilities and arouse pity. Chapman was a laborious and not always a skilful play-wright; Shirley was easily the most deft and facile composer of the school of Fletcher. Chapman's diction is often obscure, often turgid, but always weighty with thought; Shirley's as clear, and often as shallow, as a mountain brook. Chapman's versification is regular, somewhat slow-moving, but sonorous and stately; Shirley's loose, easy, with an abundance of run-on lines, at its worst little better than versified conversation, at its best of a delicate elegiac charm. A contemporary poet, Randolph, whether thinking of Chapman or not, hit off very neatly the difference between the two. 'Thy Helicon,' he says, addressing Shirley:

> 'Thy Helicon, like a smooth stream doth flow,
> While others with disturbed channels go,
> And headlong like Nile cataracts do fall
> With a huge noise.'

"If we were to suppose the possibility of a collaboration between two writers of such widely different characteristics, it should be an easy task to analyze their joint work and determine their respective shares. But, with one exception, this has not even been attempted. Dyce, the first editor, says: 'Chapman seems to have written so large a portion of this play that I believe it scarcely admissible in a collection of Shirley.' Ward believes it nearly all Chapman's. Swinburne finds it as difficult to discover any trace of Shirley in *Chabot* as of Chapman in *The Ball*. Only Mr. Fleay attempts the task of separation. . . .[4] The latest editor, Dr. Lehman, states, I believe, the true conclusion, 'that the play was originally composed by Chapman and revised by Shirley.' I had come independently to the same conclusion, and a careful study of the play had led me to believe that this revision was very careful and amounted occasionally to the complete rewriting of a scene. . . . I believe three scenes of the eleven composing the play, namely I, i, II, iii, and V, ii, remain essentially as Chapman wrote them; that II, i,[5] and III, i,[6] are practically new scenes by Shirley, displacing, in the first case at least, older work by Chapman; and that all the rest of the play presents a ground work of Chapman, re-

[4] Professor Parrott continues: "He asserts first that Chapman wrote the first two acts, with the prose speeches in III, i (III, ii, in the present edition), and V, ii, and goes on to say that he thinks the play written by Chapman about 1604 (which has been shown impossible, since it cannot be earlier than the 1611 edition of Pasquier), and that Shirley altered and re-wrote the latter part. But traces of Shirley seem to me as plain in the first two acts as of Chapman in the last three. The easy flow of the dialogue in II, i, for example, points at once to Shirley, while in the last scene of the play the elaborate simile of ll. 52–64, can only be from Chapman's hand."

[5] The scene in which the Queen's part is elaborated.

[6] The scene in which the pathos of the Wife's situation is played upon, and in which the Queen completely reverses her attitude toward Chabot.

vised, cut down, and added to by Shirley. . . . It needs but little acquaintance with Shirley's methods of composition, or the tastes of the theatre-going public in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, to see what the nature of this revision would be. Shirley would cut down the long epic speeches, cut out as much as possible the sententious moralizing, fill in with lively dialogue, introduce or at least strengthen, the figures of the Wife and the Queen to add a feminine interest to the play, and in general make it over for the stage of his day. And it is impossible to compare *Chabot* with such plays as *The Revenge of Bussy* or the Byron tragedies without feeling more and more strongly that this is exactly what has happened. The amount of its difference from Chapman's earlier work is the measure of Shirley's revision. But the original design and the groundwork of the play as it now stands is Chapman's. . . ."[7]

Accepting these conclusions on the whole, I would alter the former statements in but one very minor respect. Instead of saying that Shirley would "introduce, or at least strengthen the figures of the Wife and the Queen," I would change it to read that Shirley would introduce the figure of the Wife, and strengthen that of the Queen. For the introduction of another woman would agree well with Shirley's fondness for women characters, and the introduction of the Wife, to increase the pathos of the Admiral's situation, would agree well with his tendency to use that element. There is, moreover, no mention of a Wife in the dramatis personae of the first Quarto. There is mention, however, of the Queen, which seems to indicate that she was one of the original cast made up by Chapman. Other evidence to be presented in a later chapter points to the same conclusion.

It is upon this basis, then, namely that the play is essentially Chapman's and merely revised by Shirley, that the following investigation rests. The study is interpretative and concerns itself with the two first-mentioned problems of source and of date. In the pages which follow, I shall set forth the evidence for a source which, I believe, fills the gaps left in the enquiry of Professor Koeppel; by the events which determine the source, I shall narrow the time-limits for the writing of the play, and I shall propose a political interpretation.

[7] Parrott, *op. cit.*, pp. 632–633.

CHAPTER II

CHAPMAN UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES

IN THE early years of the seventeenth century when Scotchmen flocked to London as to a second Mecca, and when English diplomats angled for the favor of the vain and frivolous James, George Chapman, by some queer streak of good fortune, attracted the attention of Prince Henry. Though this attention apparently meant to him only the minor office of sewer-in-ordinary in the Prince's household, it brought other advantages in its train. It furnished the encouragement for the greatest labor of Chapman's life-time, his translation of the *Iliad*, and it stimulated him to the period of his greatest dramatic productivity. Although the date of Chapman's work is very uncertain and almost impossible to fix definitely, yet it is with some degree of probability that the bulk of his dramatic work has been assigned to the years between 1603 and 1612, between the accession of James I and the death of Prince Henry. At least it is certain that to this period belong most of the characteristic tragedies upon which his fame as a tragic dramatist depends. It is, therefore, to these dramas and to his poetry of this period that I shall turn in an attempt to discover his interests and methods.

One is immediately struck with certain positive, distinguishing marks in Chapman's work: a strong moralizing tendency, an overworked fondness for symbolism and allegory, and narrow scope of subject-matter. The six tragedies which are generally agreed to be his are on historical subjects, and of these it is

remarkable to find that five are based upon French history. His moral bent suggests his better-known friend, Ben Jonson, and his cloudy allegories connect him closely with that long train of moral allegorists which followed Spenser. His French subjects, however, make his tragedies unique among the dramas of his time.

Just why he was interested in French subjects we cannot, of course, determine with any finality. It is nevertheless interesting to speculate upon. Dr. Lehman suggests the influence of Marlowe as a possible reason.[1] When we recall, however, that the earliest date assigned for *Bussy D'Ambois,* the first of Chapman's French historical plays, is 1598, and also that Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris* was acted as a new play in 1593, the plausibility of this suggestion becomes slight. On the other hand, if we believe that *Bussy D'Ambois* belongs to 1603 or 1604, as Professor Parrott does, an explanation of Chapman's French interest on the basis of Marlowe's influence becomes even more improbable, especially since Chapman's work in the period between 1593 and 1604 has revealed no sign of interest in French history.

But let us, for the moment, assume that such was the case; that *Bussy D'Ambois* was written in 1598, as the result of an influence of Marlowe upon Chapman. How then account for a revival of the same interest years afterward, an interest strong enough to inspire three plays,[2] all written in fairly rapid succession? In the meantime, Elizabeth has died, James I has come to the throne, and Chapman has been given an office in the household of Prince Henry. What, under such conditions, might account for a revived interest in French affairs?

In the first place, we know by the Dobell Manuscript[3] that

[1] *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admirall of France,* ed. Lehman, p. 6.

[2] *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron* and *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois.*

[3] This manuscript, which is made up mainly of letters and petitions dating from about 1580 to 1613, was discovered by Bertram Dobell in 1901.

Chapman was more interested in the political figures of the day than in his companions in the literary field. Most of the letters, in the ninety quarto pages, relate to the history of the period, and are of importance mainly as they " show the sort of persons and subjects which had an interest "[4] for Chapman. Mr. Dobell says: " The remaining documents in Chapman's manuscript deal, with few exceptions, with the statesmen and politics of the time, and not with its literary or artistic personages."[5] With many of these political persons in whom he showed interest he probably became personally acquainted in the household of Prince Henry. At least we know that in his translation of the *Iliad,* dedicated to Prince Henry, he introduced fourteen sonnets addressed to well-known nobles of the time, a thing for which Chapman had repeatedly expressed contempt in his earlier years. Among those whom he now addressed were many whom he must undoubtedly have known among the courtiers who followed the Prince: The Earl of Southampton, Viscount Cranborne, the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Pembroke, the unfortunate Lady Arabella,[6] the Duke of Lennox, who later befriended him in his trouble over the Byron plays, and Viscount Rochester (Robert Carr), who later became the Earl of Somerset and Chapman's patron, and who may even as early as this have shown the poor poet some favor. Acquaintance with the famous

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" There are more letters of Chapman than of any other person, although most are from or to famous personages of the time " : Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Keeper Egerton, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Francis Vere, the Earl of Northampton, Ben Jonson and a certain " W. S." Dobell concluded that this manuscript was the property of George Chapman. Cf. Dobell, " Newly Discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods," *The Athenaeum,* 1901: I, pp. 465–467.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 466 (third column).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Arabella Stuart, first cousin to James I, because of her descent from Margaret Queen of Scotland, through whom James owed his claim to the English throne, died in the Tower on the 25th of September 1615: See *Arabella Stuart: A Biography,* by B. C. Hardy.

characters of the day must have been comparatively easy for even so insignificant a person as Chapman, when he was constantly associated with them in the court of Prince Henry, in howsoever minor a capacity.

His office under Prince Henry may explain somewhat his interest in the political persons at court, and may possibly also account for his use of French history. Suppose, as I have said, that he had already written *Bussy D'Ambois,* his first French play. Then a few years afterward he had come under Prince Henry's influence. We know that it was through the influence and encouragement of Henry that he went on with his work on the *Iliad.* May it not have been for the same reason that he again took up his work on French history? For Prince Henry's interest in history and in all things French is recorded in almost every comment upon him. His connection with the writing of Sir Walter Raleigh's famous history is well known.[7] He possessed a copy of Jean de Serres' *General Inventorie of the Historie of France,* now found in the British Museum, which Boas proves to have been the source used by Chapman in his two Byron plays, written in 1607–8.[8] He was a sincere admirer of Henry IV of France[9] and kept up a correspondence with him until the assassination of that king in 1610. Sully, sent as Ambassador Extraordinary from Henry IV soon after the accession of James, tells of the proposal of a French match for Prince Henry, and of its favorable reception.[10] Dr. Welwood comments on this same visit: "the duke of Sully, being in England laid the foundation of a strict friendship betwixt his master and prince Henry; which was afterwards carried on by letters and messages till the death of that king."[11] Sir Charles Cornwallis,

[7] Lord [John] Somers, *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts,* II, p. 199.

[8] *Bussy D'Ambois,* and *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois,* p. xxxii.

[9] Maximilien de Bethune, duc de Sully, *Memoirs,* II, p. 357.

[10] Sully, *op. cit.,* II, p. 393.

[11] Dr. Welwood (1578–1622) was a Scotch professor of mathematics

treasurer in the Prince's household, remarks more specifically: "The prince also received a valuable present of arms and armour from Henry the Great of France, who appeared to take great interest in the opening virtues of the heir of England. The prince expressed his sense of the value of such a gift from so renowned a warrior, and continued a close correspondence with him by letter, that he was by many supposed to be acquainted with the secret design of the vast preparations made by Henry IV, about the time of his death. The assassination by Ravaillac was an unfeigned shock to his youthful admirer." [12] Oldmixon says of the Prince's interest in Henry IV: "One can but very badly interpret the Sentiments which the Prince show'd, when he heard of the Death of Henry IV. I have lost, cry'd he, my second Father. The common opinion is, that young Henry had resolv'd to steal from the English Court, and go learn the Trade of War in France as soon as that King march'd at the Head of his Army. . . . The Prince of Wales lamented the tragic end of Henry IV. And one of his Courtiers taking that Opportunity to tell him his Death would be a means to strengthen the King of England's Pretensions to the Crown of France: 'Get you gone, you idle Flatterer,' reply'd the Prince, 'Dare you talk to me of making War against an Infant? I am ready to defend him against all who venture to attack him.'" [13]

This interest of Prince Henry in France, particularly in Henry IV, may well account for Chapman's position in the Prince's household, if, as we have supposed, *Bussy D'Ambois* was written earlier than 1603. This first French play, in which Henry IV is lauded as "the sole soldier of the world," [14] may have drawn

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and law, who enjoyed the "frie favour and clemency" of James I, and who spent some time in London early in the seventeenth century (Harris, *James I*, p. 252, note).

[12] Cornwallis, *The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and Heroique Prince Henry, Prince of Wales,* in Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 231, note.

[13] Oldmixon, *History of England,* p. 38.

[14] *Bussy D'Ambois,* II, p. 104.

the Prince's attention to the obscure Chapman,[15] which attention, in its turn, may explain the writing of three more plays on French subjects within the next few years.[16] This is, of course, but a conjecture which nevertheless may account for the subject-matter that sets Chapman apart from the dramatists of his time.

One cannot read a page of Chapman without being impressed by his frequent use of long-drawn-out and elaborate similes. This habit, while undoubtedly owing its origin to Chapman's devotion to classical learning, is directly in harmony with the Elizabethan love of symbol and allegory. In it we recognize the mental tendency toward comparison and analogy, the keen observation of and alertness for similarities which is the basis of allegory. But besides possessing this mental habit of comparison, Chapman also believed theoretically in the necessity of allegory to poetry. True poetry, he was convinced, must have a soul as well as a body, the body being but the action, and the soul being the allegory, which justifies itself by teaching virtue. "Nor is this all-comprising Poesy fantastic or mere fictive," he says in the Dedication to *The Odyssey*, "but the most material and doctrinal illations of truth, both for all manly information of manners in the young, all prescriptions of justice and even Christian piety, in the most grave and high governed. To illustrate both which in both kinds, with all height of expression, the

[15] Prince Henry granted a pension in 1606 to Josuah Sylvester, another poet who was interested in France, so that the latter became a kind of court poet. He knew French, translated *Du Bartas*, which was immensely popular, and also translated Pierre Mathieu's panegyric on Henry IV into English verse.

[16] Chapman's office under Prince Henry offers a small bit of evidence against Professor Koeppel's belief that Chapman was converted to Roman Catholicism about this time. Cornwallis, treasurer to the Prince, says: "Scarce were there any of his household servants whom he [Prince Henry] did not know by name, amongst whom there was not one knowne or suspected Papist, his care being so great, that all communicants names should be written up, that he might know if there were any, that would not receive (Somers *op. cit.*, II, p. 251). Dr. Lehman gives further evidence against Professor Koeppel's theory.

Poet creates both a body and a soul in them. Wherein, if the body (being the letter or history) seems fictive, and beyond possibility to bring into act, the sense then and allegory which is the soul, is to be sought; which intends a more eminent expressure of Virtue for her loveliness and Vice for her ugliness, in their several effects, going beyond the life, than any art within life can possibly delineate." [17]

In the *Hymns of Homer,* Chapman, in keeping with this theory, sees in the plight of Homer the situation of the Earl of Somerset. In the story of Perseus and Andromeda he sees the romance of the Countess of Essex and the Earl of Somerset. And in *The Georgics of Hesiod* he sees an application to Francis Bacon: "And why may not this Roman eulogy of the Graians extend in praiseful intention (by way of prophetic Poesy) to Gray's-Inn wits and orators? Or if the allusion (or petition of the principle) beg with too broad a license in the general; yet serious truth, for the particular, may most worthily apply it to your Lordship's truly Greek inspiration, and absolutely Attic elocution. Whose all-acknowledged faculty hath banished flattery even from the Court; much more from my country-and-more-than-upland simplicity." [18]

Chapman has, however, treated the subject of moral-allegory more fully in his *Justification of Perseus and Andromeda,* an attempt to explain his blundering and unfortunate allegory dealing with the nuptials of the Countess of Essex and the Earl of Somerset. He says there: "As Learning hath delighted from her cradle to hide herself from the base and profane Vulgar, her ancient Enemy, under divers veils of Hieroglyphics, Fables, and the like, so hath she more pleased herself with no disguise more than in Mysteries and allegorical fictions of Poesy. These have

[17] *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* Dedicatory Epistle to *The Odyssey,* p. 237.

[18] *Ibid.,* Dedicatory Epistle to *The Georgics of Hesiod,* p. 209.

in that kind been of special reputation, as taking place of the rest both for priority of time and precedence of use, being born in the old world long before Hieroglyphics, or Fables were conceived; and delivered from the fathers to the sons of Art without any Author but Antiquity; yet ever held in high reverence and authority as supposed to conceal within the utter bark, as their Eternities prove, some sap of hidden Truth; as either some dim and obscure points of divinity, and the sacred history, or the grounds of natural, or rules of moral Philosophy, for the recommending of some virtue, or curing of some vice in general (for howsoever physicians allege that their medicines respect *non Hominem sed Socratum,* not every, but such a special body; yet poets profess the contrary, that their physic intends *non Socratum sed Hominem,* not the individual but the universal); or else recording some memorable examples for the use of policy and state; ever, I say, enclosing within the rind some fruit of knowledge, howsoever darkened; and by reason of the obscurity of ambiguous and different construction. *Est enim ipsa Natura universa Poesis aenigmatum plena, nec quivis eam dignoscit.* This ambiguity in the sense hath given scope to the variety of expositions; while poets in all ages, challenging as their birthrights the use and application of these fictions, have ever been allowed to fashion both, *pro & contra,* to their own offenceless and judicious occasions. And borrowing so far the privileged license of their professions, have enlarged or altered the allegory with inventions and dispositions of their own, to extend it to their present doctrinal and illustrous purposes." [19]

However awkwardly stated, we have here the expression of an Elizabethan theory of allegory, which was at the same time general and specific, abstract and concrete, moral and political. There were three tendencies in the age which distinctly affected

[19] *Ibid., A Justification of Perseus and Andromeda,* p. 194.

the nature of the allegory: imaginative concreteness which constantly tended toward the embodiment of all abstractions in concrete personifications; interest in strong personalities which continually saw in great figures of any age the great personalities of the present; and vital interest in history, past or present, which constantly forced generalizations into historical and political forms. Moreover, the dangers attendant upon dealing in political personalities impressed upon the poet the need of obscuring and misleading so that no interpretation could be too definite. The poet was moved by conflicting impulses: one to convey a very clear message; the other to protect himself by obscuring his meaning. Thus the allegory became fairly loaded with suggestion of moral, personal, religious, or political significance. "Neither are these parts severally distinguished in order of handling, but, like a Dutch stewd-pot, iumbled altogether, and linsey-wolsey woven, one within another." [20] In fact, so subtly are they interwoven that the reader can never completely unravel or identify the parts. According to Chapman, this very obscurity adds a kind of majesty to poetry. Poetry which is so darkened that its meaning must be searched "is better than that which every cobbler may sing to his patch," as he says in his dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*.[21] "Time hath confounded our minds, our minds the matter;" says John Lyly introducing *Midas*, one of his political allegories, "but all cometh to this passe, that what heretofore hath been served in severall dishes for a feast, is now minced in a charger for a gallimaufrey. If we present a minglemangle, our fault is to be excused, because the whole world is

[20] *Have with You to Saffron Walden*, ed. Grossart, III, p. 174.

[21] Of interest in connection with this theory about the obscurity of poetic allegory is Swinburne's comment upon Chapman's practice in *The Tears of Peace*. He says: "The allegory is of course clouded and confounded by all manner of perversities and obscurities worth no man's while to elucidate or to rectify," "*Essay on George Chapman*," in *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations*, p. li.

become a hodge-podge."[22] Such comments are significant when applied to the method of Elizabethan symbolism and allegory. And in his use of this, Chapman has confessed himself a typical Elizabethan rather than a Jacobean.

Along with the foregoing discussion of poetry, we should also consider Chapman's theory of the truth and the moral purpose of tragedy, which he expressly states in his dedication to Sir Thomas Howard, prefixed to *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*: "And for the authentical truth of either person or action, who (worth the respecting) will expect it in a poem, whose subject is not truth, but things like truth? Poor envious souls they are that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions; material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentical tragedy."[23]

Chapman not only believed in a moral purpose for tragedy, but amply illustrated his theory in practice. Bussy D'Ambois, Swinburne says, "the brilliant swordsman of the court of Henry III, who flashes out on us as the joyous central figure of one of the most joyous and vigorous in all the bright list of those large historic groups to which the strong swift hand of Dumas gave colour and life, has undergone at the heavier hand of the old English poet a singular transformation. He is still the irresistible duellist and amorist of tradition; but instead of the grace and courtliness proper to his age and rank, Chapman has bestowed on him the grave qualities of an epic braggart, whose tongue is at least as long as his sword."[24] Despite the impetuous passion and fiery adventure of this first tragedy of Chapman's, it halts to give moral declamation first place. Bussy enters with a moral homily on Fortune, Reason, Honour, Glory, and Man:

[22] John Lyly, *Midas*, The Prologue in Pauls, in *Old English Plays*, ed. C. W. Dilke, I, p. 295.

[23] Parrott, *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Tragedies*, Dedication to *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, p. 77.

[24] Swinburne, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

> Man is a torch borne in the wind; a dream
> But of a shadow, summ'd with all his substance;
> And as great seamen, using all their wealth
> And skills in Neptune's deep invisible paths,
> In tall ships richly built and ribb'd with brass,
> To put a girdle round about the world,
> When they have done it, coming near their haven,
> Are fain to give a warning-piece, and call
> A poor, staid fisherman, that never pass'd
> His country's sight, to waft and guide them in:
> So when we wander furthest from the waves
> Of glassy Glory, and the gulfs of State,
> Topt with all titles, spreading all our reaches,
> As if each private arm would sphere the earth,
> We must to Virtue for her guide resort,
> Or we shall shipwrack in our safest port.[25]

Monsieur and Guise sing a moral chorus on the blind wastefulness of Nature, when Bussy's fate is inevitable, and Bussy pauses long enough before he dies to deliver a solemn and magnificent oration — Chapman's tragic lesson for his audience:

> Is my body, then,
> But penetrable flesh? And must my mind
> Follow my blood? Can my divine part add
> No aid to th' earthly in extremity?
> Then these divines are but for form, not fact:
> Man is of two sweet courtly friends compact,
> A mistress and a servant: let my death
> Define life nothing but a courtier's breath.
> Nothing is made of nought, of all things made,
> Their abstract being a dream but of a shade.
> . . . . . .
> O Frail condition of strength, valour, virtue,
> In me (like warning fire upon the top
> Of some steep beacon, on a steeper hill)
> Made to express it: like a falling star
> Silently glanc'd, that like a thunderbolt
> Look'd to have stuck and shook the firmament.[26]

[25] *Bussy D'Ambois,* I, i, 18–33. That Chapman took the substance of many of these precepts from classical sources does not concern us here. We are instead concerned with the interest in moral philosophizing which lay back of such gleanings. For a thorough study of these sources see Frank L. Schoell, *Études sur l'Humanisme Continental en Angleterre, à la Fin de la Renaissance.*

[26] *Bussy D'Ambois,* V, iv, 79–146.

Although *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* is crowded with incident it also depends more for its value upon the vigorous and declamatory moralizing than upon the interest in the action. Clermont is an exact opposite of his brother Bussy in his slow soberness and his careful and philosophic foresight. Bussy moralizes after impulsive and ill-considered action; Clermont deliberates before it. Although handling a bloody and violent story, Chapman strangely clothes it in a garment of calm and steady moral contemplation. Swinburne, commenting upon these moral reflections, says: "to cite one or more instances of these would be to wrong the profuse and liberal genius which has sown them broadcast in so rich a soil. The reader who seeks them for himself with a judging eye and an apprehensive spirit will not be unlikely to make of *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois,* for the wealth and the weight of its treasures of ethical beauty, his chosen and peculiar favourite among the works of Chapman." [27]

But a special study of Chapman's moral speculations in this play as well as in the three others reveals a moral interest with a particular bias toward court affairs. Though he teaches the general tenets of truth, sincerity, and loyalty, and rails against ambition, pride, and hypocrisy,[28] he yet specifically directs his shaft against the glozing and hypocritical flattery and dishonest dissembling of the courtier and statesman; the strategy and policy, "that botcher-up of kingdoms" used by kings; the undermining intrigue and gift giving of ambassadors; and the inordinate and ambitious grasping of favorites.

> He is at end of his actions blest
> Whose ends will make him greatest, and not best;
> They tread no ground, but ride in air on storms
> That follow state, and hunt their empty forms.[29]

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[27] Swinburne, *George Chapman: A Critical Essay,* p. 107.

[28] *The Tragedy of Byron,* III, i, 179–181; IV, ii, 183–184; I, iii, 51–52; IV, ii, 305–311.

[29] *The Tragedy of Byron,* V, iv, 144–147.

The central moral interest of the Byron plays is the relation of subject to monarch, of favorite to king, the duty of loyalty on the one side, and of justice on the other; that of *Chabot* is " the duty of the absolute monarch to respect the liberty of the loyal subject." [30]

In itself this political bias might not be significant when we consider the Aristotelian and Elizabethan conception of tragedy which limited tragic figures to the great, and consequently to the royal or at least the noble. Yet when taken in relation to Chapman's political connections as revealed in his letters, to his position in the Prince's household, and to his allegorical creed, it becomes of vital significance as an integral part in the unified whole of his interests and works. There may even be more definite reflection of his office under Prince Henry in his political moralizing. We know Chapman to have been a moralist who, for the first time in his life, was furnished an opportunity of giving full rein to his special gift. With a natural propensity for teaching and politics, he was in favor with the Prince of the realm, a pious, conscientious, and ambitious boy who was seriously bent upon preparing himself for the kingship. What an opportunity for Chapman, with his " material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue and deflection from her contrary," to mold this youth! So we find the ideal monarch in the person of Henry IV set up before Prince Henry in *The Conspiracy of Byron;* we find warnings placed on every page against false ambition, favorites, the pitfalls of flattery, the dangers of policy; we find instruction in the divine right of kings and the human right of subjects; we find exhortation to reason and learning, to loyalty in friendship, to truth and justice:

> Princes, you know, are masters of their laws,
> And may resolve them to what forms they please,
> So all conclude in justice.
>
> — *The Tragedy of Byron,* IV, ii, 31–33

[30] Parrott, *op. cit.,* p. 637.

O how much
Err those kings, then, that play with life and death,
And nothing put into their serious states
But humour and their lusts.
—*The Tragedy of Byron,* IV, ii, 79–82

flatterers are kites
That check at sparrows; . . .
Truth's words, like jewels, hang in th' ears of kings.
—*Bussy D'Ambois,* III, ii, 3–6

Whether or not Chapman's teaching had any effect upon Prince Henry, it is certain at least that the Prince exemplified Chapman's moral precepts in his loyal friendships for the great Sir Walter Raleigh, for the lowly shipwright Phineas Pette, for the poor George Chapman; in his hatred of flattery and his love of truth and justice; in his earnest belief in the King's prerogative and his responsibility to God; and in his eager desire and admiration for learning.[31] It may even be possible that Chapman, the staunch moralist who taught so earnestly through his French tragedies, helped to instill these ideals into the mind of the impressionable boy. Certainly such moral virtues could not be due to the king-craft of his father. Nevertheless, whether Chapman influenced the morals of the Prince, or whether the Prince stimulated the teaching of Chapman, it still remains true that there is a remarkable similarity between the moral precepts in the French tragedies of Chapman and the moral beliefs of the young Prince. Moreover, it would seem that, whether Chapman were instructing Prince Henry or not, he was in any case attacking definite and specific political conditions in the Stuart court.

His two outstanding pieces of political satire are well known, because through each of them he was brought into conflict with the King's censor, ever on the watch for such attacks. We do

[31] Sir Charles Cornwallis, *A Discourse of the Most Illustrious Prince Henry, Prince of Wales,* 1626, in Somers, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 18–225. For an account of Prince Henry and Phineas Pette, see Bridge, *Princes of Wales,* pp. 168–169.

not know that Chapman actually wrote the satiric passage against the Scots in *Eastward Hoe,* but we do know that he was at least jointly responsible for it with Marston and Ben Jonson. And he did write the objectionable passages in the Byron plays: the scene which portrayed Queen Elizabeth pointing out the head of the traitor Essex to the Duke of Byron, when the latter was on an embassy to England; and the representation upon the stage of a disgraceful quarrel between the French Queen and the King's mistress. But although these political indiscretions threw Chapman into prison at one time, and into enforced hiding at another, there were many others in both comedies and tragedies less harmful in result. The influx of the Scots, the colonization of Virginia, the wholesale creation of knights, the increasing assertiveness of the Puritan, the changing taste on the stage, the rule of favorites, the style of familiar address in court usage, the aping of French dress, the slothful effect of the peace which James loved, the divine right of kings, foreign embassies, kingcraft, — all bear as significant a relation to Chapman's plays as they bear to the history of the reign of James I. All are used as targets for satire and as subjects for moralizing. For Chapman was " essentially of his age." [32] He was bound by the limitations of his time; he was engrossed in the moral problems of the Stuart court. His moralizing constantly verged toward the political centers of Jacobean attention and tended to become topical satire. He can, therefore, be interpreted only in relation to the contemporary events which most closely concerned him.

Yet frequent as we find his use of this kind of topical satire, it does not at this time become overt propaganda. It is to a later period that we must look for this, when Chapman no longer enjoyed the prosperity which was granted to him under the favor and protection of Prince Henry, and when through personal loy-

[32] Janet Spens, " Chapman's Ethical Thought," *Essays and Studies,* XI, p. 149.

alty to a later patron and indignation at that patron's disgrace, he becomes actively aroused. Then we shall find a combination of his methods and interests, allegorical, historical, moral, and political, in *The Tragedy of Chabot,* which, I believe, passes the bounds of mere topical satire and becomes a piece of real political propaganda. But before the writing of this drama, Chapman's fortunes pass through several changes, all precipitated by the sudden death of Prince Henry on November 6, 1612.

CHAPTER III

CHAPMAN UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF ROBERT CARR, EARL OF SOMERSET

PROBABLY no one has ever been more lamented in prose and in verse than Henry, Prince of Wales. Phineas Pette, the shipwright, bemoaned his loss as "the utter downfall of all my forlorn hopes," "the ruin of all my poor posterity."[1] Josuah Sylvester, of *Du Bartas* fame, cried out despairingly:

> My gracious Prince, O how his name doth pierce
> My grieved Soule, and sables all my verse
> . . . . . .
> But hee is dead, alas, and with him dy'd
> My present helpe and future hope beside,
> So that with Job I murmure not, but mourne,
> Naked I came, and naked I return.[2]

"Among the rest," writes Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on November 12, 1612, "Sir Walter Raleigh hath lost his greatest hope, . . . insomuch that he [Prince Henry] had moved the King divers times for him, and had lastly a grant, that he should be delivered out of the Tower before Xmas."[3]

But possibly no one, not even Sir Walter Raleigh, felt his loss more keenly than George Chapman, who from 1604 to 1612 had enjoyed his favor and patronage. In the dedication to "Epicedium," the funeral song to Prince Henry, he says: "The most unvaluable and dismayful loss of my most dear and heroical Patron, Prince Henry, hath so stricken all my spirits to the

[1] John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, II, p. 496.

[2] Josuah Sylvester, *Du Bartas: His Weekes and Workes*, Epistle IX, p. 646.

[3] Nichols, *op. cit.*, II, p. 487.

earth, that I will never more dare to look up to any greatness; but resolving the little rest of my poor life to obscurity, and the shadow of his death, prepare ever hereafter for the light of Heaven."[4] Chapman lost not only a beloved Prince and Patron by Henry's death, but also his place of sewer-in-ordinary in the Prince's household, and the pension promised by the Prince, losses which, to judge from the evidence of his letters, threw him back into the poverty from which he rarely escaped in his long life-time. The following letters quoted by Bertram Dobell,[5] undated, but undoubtedly written soon after Henry's death, show Chapman the humblest of suitors:

To the King's Ma^tie

Humblie sheweth that serving above nine yeares the late Prince Henry in place of a sewer in ordinary; And in all that time consuming his whole meanes, never receyving any suyte nor benifits; and now put from his place under Prince Charles; It would please yo^e most excellent Ma^tie to take into yo^e Royall compassion, whom his highnes Princely Intention (being so soodainely prevented) could not see recompensed; . . . And for all yo^e right sacred commiseration of one so miserablie lost, I shall ever be most zealously bound to all gratitude; and pray as uncessantly for yo^e Ma^ties wished and endles felicitie.

To the Right Ho^rable the Earle of Northampton: Lord Privy Seale, and one of his Ma^ties most honourd privie Counsaile.

The humble Peticon of George Chapman: Beseeching yo^e good lo^p to vouchsafe the reading of the annext petition, and to take notice of my enforced suite therein contained; The ground thereof being a due debt (the promise of a Prince vouched on his deathbed) growing from a serious and valuable cause (two yeares studious writinge impos'd by his highness upon a poore man, whose Pen is his Plough, and the sole meanes of his maintenance) that yo^e Lo^p, being a most competent Judge of my paines in this kinde; may please out of your noble inclination to learning, to countenance my constrained motion, made for no money; but only for some poore Coppiehold of the Princes land, of 40^l Rent, if any such I can find. Nor needes yo^e Lo^p doubt giving President to any, no one being able, of this nature, to allege the like service; none but myself having done

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[4] *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. 165.

[5] Dobell, "Newly Discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods," *The Athenæum,* 1901: I, p. 433 (third column).

Homer; . . . I hope few els can plead to the Prince so difficult a service? which if yo^e Lo^p please the rather to consider; I shall be enabled to proceede in the further works commaunded by his highness, and pay to your most worthy name and memorie the tribute of my best paines, and daily pray for youre hon^s longe continued eminence in all hon^e & happiness.

Dobell tells also of another petition, addressed "To the Right Honorable the Lords of his Ma^ties privie Counsell," in which Chapman urges that, having for four years attended the late prince, he was commanded by him to proceed with his translation of Homer, and promised on its conclusion three hundred pounds, "And uppon his death bed a good pension, during my life; commaunding me to go on with the Odysses; All which Sir Tho. Challenor can truly witnesse, yet never receyving pennye; but incurringe seaven score pounds debt by my tyme spent in that service, which all know I could have employde to the profit of as great a sum; The want whereof without youre charitable prevention must ende in my endles imprisonment." "He begs them therefore not to value the prince's promise lighter than a 'customarie' debt, but to this, his first 'suyte' and last refuge, stand just and conscionable sanctuaries; and he for the rest of his 'poore ould life,' will ever pray 'knowinglie and faithfullie' for them." [6]

That these sufferings were not immediately relieved by the great ones whom he supplicated is evidenced in his short poem *To the Immortal Memory of the Incomparable Hero, Henry, Prince of Wales:*

> Not thy thrice-sacred will,
> Sign'd with thy death, moves any to fulfil
> Thy just bequests to me. Thou dead, then I
> Live dead, for giving thee eternity.
>
> *Ad Famam*
>
> To all times future this time's mark extend,
> Homer no patron found, nor Chapman friend.[7]

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. 175.

But soon after he must have come to the attention of Robert Carr, the first favorite of the King, and it may have been through these very supplications, since Carr at the time was acting Secretary of State pending the appointment of a successor to Robert Cecil, who had died earlier in 1612. Mr. Dobell concludes, from the poem cited above, that Chapman's supplications failed: "Is it necessary to say that all these appeals were addressed to deaf and unheeding ears? What cared King James and his courtiers for the distress of so insignificant a personage as Chapman, or for the dying request of the prince?"[8] But in the face of other evidence this conclusion seems unwarranted. In the second letter quoted above Chapman says, "if yo^{e} Lo^{p} please the rather to consider; I shall be enabled to proceede in the further works commaunded by his highness," and in the third letter he amplifies this to "commaunding me to go on with the Odysses." That someone, in answer to his prayers for aid, enabled him to go on with the *Odysses* is proved by the notice of it in the Stationers Register in 1614 and its actual publication in 1616. And that the someone who thus aided him was Somerset is evidenced by the dedication "to the Most Worthily Honoured, My Singular Good Lord, Robert, Earl of Somerset":[9]

> Twelve labours of your Thespian Hercules
> I now present your Lordship; do but please
> To lend life means till th' other twelve receive
> Equal achievement; and let Death then reave
> My life now lost in our patrician loves
> That knock heads with the herd. . . .[10]

Certain it is that by December, 1613, at the time of the marriage of Carr, now Earl of Somerset, to the illustrious Countess of Essex, he had been introduced to Carr's favor. At this time,

[8] Dobell, *op. cit.*, p. 433 (third column).

[9] *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations*, p. 236.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

joining with a general London chorus, he added his voice to the royal celebration of the marriage, with *Andromeda Liberata.*

It is inconceivable that it was this poem which paved the way for the patronage of the King's favorite. For although Chapman intended only honor to the bride and bridegroom, he blunderingly chose an unfortunate conveyance for his compliment — the story of the rescue of Andromeda from the monster, by Perseus. Under the circumstances any treatment of the marriage of Carr and his Countess was a delicate matter. It was but a few years before that she had been married to the Earl of Essex, with great show and ceremony at the king's expense. Since that time she had furnished London with much scandal, ending in the grant of a nullity of her former marriage, and the death of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower. Now she appeared in a second marriage ceremony, as a virgin bride, with even greater ostentation. Consequently, an allegory representing her as the lovely Andromeda chained to "a barren rock" and rescued from the "monster's fury" and "those harsh bands," by "Jove's chief Minion," was subject to misinterpretation.

It is obvious by the Epistle Dedicatory and the opening lines of *Andromeda* that Chapman believed sincerely in the virtue and the integrity of the Earl and Countess and steadfastly opposed the rising tide of scandal which threatened to engulf them:

> Nor will I fear to prostrate this poor rage
> Of forespoke Poesy, to your patronage,
> Thrice worthy Earl, and your unequall'd grace,
> Most noble Countess, for the one-ear'd race
> Of set-eyed vulgars, that will no way see
> But that their stiff necks drive them head-longy,
> Stung with the gad-fly of misgovern'd zeal;
> Nor hear but one tale, and that ever ill.
> These I contemn, as no rubs fit for me
> To check at in my way to integrity;
> . . . . . .
>
> Forth then, my Lord, and these things ever thirst,
> Till scandal pine, and bane-fed envy burst.

> And you, most noble lady, as in blood,
> In mind be noblest, make our factious brood,
> Whose forked tongues would fain your honour sting,
> Convert their venom'd points into their spring;
> Whose own hearts guilty of faults feign'd in yours,
> Would fain be posting off. . . .[11]

And in the scornful address to the reader he says: "By such as backbite the highest, the lowest must look to be denounced. Forth with your curious scrutiny, and find my rush as knotty as you lust, and your own crab-tree as smooth. 'Twill be most ridiculous and pleasing to sit in a corner and spend your teeth to the stumps in mumbling an old sparrow till your lips bleed and your eyes water, when all the faults you can find are first in yourselves, 'tis no Herculean labour to crack what you breed."[12]

Such an opportunity for "mumbling an old sparrow" was not lost by the "ungodly vulgars." They hastened with their "curious scrutiny" turned full on the allegory of the *Andromeda,* and Chapman was forced in the same year to a defense: "A Free and offenceless Justification of a Lately publisht and most maliciously misinterpreted Poeme; entitled Andromeda liberata."

"Such is the perversity of man," says Swinburne ironically, "that on perusing this most apt and judicious allegory 'the base, ignoble, barbarous, giddy multitude' of readers actually thought fit to enquire from what 'barren rock' the new Perseus might be said to have unbound his fettered virgin, and in answer to this not unnatural enquiry Chapman had the audacious innocence to affirm — and I doubt not in all truth and simplicity — that the inevitable application of this happy and appropriate symbol had never so much as crossed his innocent mind."[13]

"Nor did I ever imagine till now," says Chapman, "so far-fetched a thought in malice (such was my simplicity) that the

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 181–183.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 184.

[13] Swinburne, "Essay on George Chapman," in *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. liv.

fiction being as ancient as the first world, was originally intended to the dishonour of any person now living; but presumed that the application being free, I might, *pro meo jure,* dispose it innocently to mine own subject; if at least in mine own writing; I might be reasonably and conscionably master of mine own meaning."[14] He says further: "till this most unequal oppression oppressed me I stood firm up with many, now only with God and myself. For the violent hubbub, setting my song to their own harsh tunes, have made it yield so harsh and distasteful a sound to my best friends, that my integrity, even they hold affected with the shrill echo thereof by replexion, receiving it from the mouths of others."[15] It is evident too that Chapman, so recently recovered from his despair, and in hope of aid from his new patron, Somerset, feared the loss of this but-too-new favor. In the Dialogues between Pheme and Theodines, the latter part of his *Justification,* Pheme expresses the generally accepted opinion, while Theodines, representing Chapman, explains and apologizes:

Pheme. Ho! you, Theodines! you must not dream
Y'are thus dismiss'd in Peace; seas too extreme
Your song hath stirr'd up, to be calm'd so soon:
Nay, in your haven you shipwrack, y'are undone;
Your Perseus is displeased, and slighteth now
Your work as idle, and as servile, you.
The People's god-voice hath exclaim'd away
Your misty clouds, and he sees clear as day
You've made him scandal'd for another's wrong,
Wishing unpublish'd your unpopular song.

Theodines. . . . . . .
Can I seem servile to him when, alas!
My whole life's freedom shows I never was?
If I be rude in speech, or not express

[14] *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. 194.
[15] *Ibid.,* p. 195.

My plain mind with affected courtliness,
His insight can into the fountain reach,
And knows sound meaning ne'er used glosing speech.

Pheme. Well, be he as you hope, but this believe,
All friends have left you, all that knew you grieve,
For fair condition in you, that your thrall
To one man's humour should so lose them all.

Theodines. One may be worth all, and they thus imply
Themselves are all bad that our good envy.
Goodness and Truth, they are, the All-Good knows,
To whom my free soul all her labours vows.
If friends for this forsake me, let them fly.[16]

Whether or not Somerset were actually displeased and altered in his favor to Chapman, we cannot tell, although the fact that Chapman remained firm in his protestations of Somerset's virtue and innocence would indicate that he was not. And it was not long before Chapman's faith was given a severe test.

In the latter months of 1615, Somerset and his Countess were taken into custody for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury and after the trial of five others and the execution of four of them as accessories to the crime, they were brought to trial before the Peers of the Realm on May 24 and 25, 1616. Overbury, the very close friend of Somerset, had opposed the marriage of the Countess and the Earl and had therefore incurred the hatred of the Countess. It was alleged that she had pursued her hatred with vengeance, while he was imprisoned in the Tower by the King's order, and it was also alleged that this vengeance had been connived at by Somerset, who had become weary of his former friendship for Overbury. The Countess was tried first. She confessed herself guilty, was condemned to death, and was taken away to the Tower to await judgment.

On the following day the Earl was brought to trial, pleaded not guilty, defended himself to no avail against a carefully

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197.

planned prosecution, and after an ordeal of eleven hours was also declared guilty and sentenced to death. Only a few months before, flattered and fawned on by the many court suitors, Somerset was now deserted and solitary in the Tower of London, while these same courtiers turned to the new star in the royal firmament, the handsome young George Villiers. The Countess received a pardon soon after, but it was not until four months before the death of James that one was granted to the Earl.

Chapman's hope, but a flash in the pan, we thus see soon extinguished. Barely four years have passed since we saw him a "poore ould" man, "not daring to look up to any greatness but resolving the little rest of his poor life to obscurity and the shadow of the Prince's death." Soon after, however, granted the favor of the first man in the realm, he raised his eyes again and went to his work on the *Odysses* with the vigor of renewed hope. But favor and hope were short lived, and again Chapman was without patronage of the great, which to a man whose pen was his plough in the reign of James meant poverty in the extreme. Not only was Somerset no longer able to do him favor, but the very fact that he had ever done so now told against Chapman. For the new faction was in power; the old was spurned almost as though accessories to the crime for which the Earl had been condemned. It was not Somerset alone who had fallen, but all those who had enjoyed prosperity under the shadow of his greatness. From this time to the time of his death, eighteen years later, we know little of Chapman except his sufferings and bitterness. Others flourished with no greater talents than his. It is no wonder that we find his contempt for the vulgar herd, his bitterness toward success, his abuse of the great, bursting forth with the froth of self-consuming rage. May this not account for his unjust and bitter invectives against his earlier friend, Ben Jonson — Ben Jonson who still played in the favor of the great, whose masques were in demand at court, whose kindness

Chapman was forced to accept and which rankled in his heart? May this not account for those gibes against his friend's learning, his "golden food," his pleasing of the presence-royal, his "mastery in the arts"?

> Great, learned, witty Ben, be pleased to light
> The world with that three-forked fire; nor fright
> All us, thy sublearn'd, with luciferous boast
> That thou art most great, most learn'd, witty most
> Of all the kingdom, nay of all the earth.[17]

To this period, I believe, belong two other letters quoted by Dobell: the first begging for payment for the writing of a certain masque and complaining of unjust discrimination;[18] and the second written by Ben Jonson to the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor asking for favor for a friend, whom Mr. Dobell takes to be Chapman.[19] Although there is no direct evidence that these letters do not belong to the period between the patronage of the Prince of Wales and that of the Earl of Somerset, their tone is one of greater necessity and even deeper humility than that of those written earlier, which is more in keeping with Chapman's greater desperation in the period after the fall of Somerset.

We find him making further supplication for aid in 1618 through the dedication of *The Georgics of Hesiod*. Chapman addressed this poem to Sir Francis Bacon, who had but recently received the appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England succeeding Ellesmere. It is a bid for favor from the now humble Chapman to Bacon, the ambitious statesman, who had reached the pinnacle of success: ". . . to what sea owe these poor streams their tribute, but to your Lordship's ocean? The rather, since

[17] *An Invective Written by Mr. George Chapman against Mr. Ben Jonson,* in *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. 432.

[18] Dobell, *op. cit.,* p. 466.

[19] *Ibid.*

others of the like antiquity, in my Translation of Homer, teach these their way, and add comfort to their courses, by having received right cheerful countenance and approbation from your Lordship's most grave and honoured predecessor." [20]

There is no evidence that Chapman's suit for the favor of Bacon had any result other than neglect, since there are no further dedications to him, nor any other direct references to him by Chapman in the remaining years of his life, from 1618 to 1634.

Despite the hardship and want occasioned by the fall of the great favorite, we find Chapman steadfast in his loyalty to the fallen and disgraced Earl. There were others less staunch in their loyalty, who at the first sign of fortune's change, turned their smiles elsewhere. Even the redoubtable Ben Jonson did not hold his earlier ground. He was one of those who had made a popular bid for royal favor, in 1605–6, at the Countess' first marriage, with his masque, *Hymenaei.* Nor did he recoil from another attempt to curry favor in 1613, at the Countess' second marriage, with two more masques, *A Challenge at Tilt* and an *Irish Masque.* Yet in 1616 after the Earl had fallen, Jonson deemed it prudent in his first folio to designate these works vaguely, as produced at *a* marriage. However, an earlier edition of the *Hymenaei,* where the names of the bride and bridegroom were published on the title-page, and the written accounts of the many celebrations at the later ceremony have given Ben Jonson away.[21]

But Chapman, still believing in the innocence of Somerset, and tactlessly refusing to sacrifice his honesty and friendship on the altar of the Mammon he so thoroughly detested, stoutly main-

[20] *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations. The Georgics of Hesiod,* p. 209.

[21] Cf. Andrew Amos, *The Great Oyer of Poisoning,* pp. 11–12; also Nichol's *Progresses of James I,* II, p. 715, note.

tained adherence to the Earl's faction by dedicating more poems to him. He did not follow Jonson's example, nor did he withdraw the dedication of the *Odysses,* already written, when it was published in the same year as the Earl's disgrace. Instead, as though to trumpet abroad his friend's innocence, and to shout defiance at the world's opinion, he later wrote more dedications to "The Most Worthily Honoured and Judicially-Noble Lover and Fautor of all Goodness and Virtue,"[22] "to my ever Most-Worthy-to-be Most Honoured Lord," Robert, Earl of Somerset, and signed himself, "whose most worthy discoveries, to your Lordship's judicial perspective, in most subdued humility submitteth. . . . Your best Lordship's, ever most worthily bounden, George Chapman."[23]

That Chapman regarded Somerset as the innocent victim of a plot laid against him by his enemies, and that he believed him to be entirely innocent of the charge against him of complicity in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, is quite evident in these dedications. Through many tortuous windings of obscure simile and symbol, he expresses his faith in his former patron and his unstinted admiration for him:

> And though your high-fix'd light pass infinite far
> Th' adviceful guide of my still-trembling star,
> Yet hear what my discharged piece must foretell,
> Standing your poor and perdu sentinel.
> Kings may perhaps wish even your beggar's voice
> To their eternities, how scorn'd a choice
> Soever now it lies.

He describes Somerset:

> In choice resign'd
> To calm retreat, laid quite beneath the wind
> Of grace and glory.

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[22] Epistle Dedicatory to *Pro Vere, Autumni Lachrymae,* 1622, in *The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. 247.

[23] *Ibid.,* Epistle Dedicatory to *The Hymns of Homer,* 1624, pp. 247–252.

He compares him to an English general who in retreat:

> retired and fought;
> All the battalions of the enemy's horse
> Storming upon him still their fieriest force;
> Charge upon charge laid fresh; he, fresh as day,
> Repulsing all, and forcing glorious way
> Into the gates.

He likens him to one who had fought against foes who basely came on him behind:

> never-numbered odds of enemy,
> Arm'd all by envy, in blind ambush lie,
> To rush out like an open threatening sky,
> Broke all in meteors round about your ears.[24]

After this description of Somerset as one beset by treacherous and deceitful enemies, he comments:

> The doctrine of all which you here shall find,
> And in the true glass of a humane mind.[25]

In other words, Somerset in the situation and doctrine of the *Hymns of Homer* was to see the symbol and reflection of his own situation and fate. And as Chapman expresses this "doctrine" in the prefix to the *Hymns,* it is extremely significant in a study of Chapman's attitude toward Somerset's disgrace.

"After this not only Prime of Poets, but Philosophers, had written his two great poems of Iliads and Odysses; which (for their first lights borne before all learning) were worthily called the Sun and Moon of the Earth; (finding no compensation) he writ, in contempt of men, this ridiculous poem of Vermin, giving them nobility of birth, valorous elocution not inferior to his heroes. At which the Gods themselves put in amaze, called councils about their assistance of either army, and the justice of their quarrels, even to the mounting of Jove's artillery against them, and discharge of his three-forked flashes; and all for the drowning of a mouse. After which slight and recreative touch, he betook him seriously to the honour of the Gods; in Hymns resounding all their peculiar titles, jurisdiction, and dignities. . . .

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 251.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 252.

All his observance and honour of the Gods, rather moved their envies against him, than their rewards, or respects of his endeavors. And so like a man verecundi ingenii (which he witnesseth of himself) he lived unhonoured and needy till his death; yet notwithstanding all men's servile and manacled miseries, to his most absolute and never-equalled merit. . . ." [26]

It is impossible not to see in this symbolic comparison between the fate of his idol, Homer, and that of his friend, Somerset, a reflection also of his own neglected and poverty-stricken plight.

In 1622 he addresses to Somerset his *Pro Vere, Autumni Lachrymae,* written to The Memory of Sir Horatio Vere. Here he begins:

> All least good, that but only aims at Great,
> I know, best Earl, may boldly make retreat
> To your retreat, from this World's open Ill.
> Of Goodness, therefore, the prime part, the Will,
> Inflamed my powers, to celebrate as far
> As their force reach'd, this Thunderbolt of War.[27]

He speaks of his own neglect and again praises Somerset:

> for equal Heaven avert,
> It should return reproach, to praise desert;
> How hapless and perverse soever be
> The envies and infortunes following me;
> Whose true and simple only aim at merit
> Makes your acceptive and still-bettering spirit
> My wane view, as at full still; and sustain
> A life, that other subtler Lords disdain:
> Being suttlers more to braggart-written men
> (Though still deceived) than any truest pen.
> . . . . . .
> Go then your own way still; and God with you
> Will go, till his state all your steps avow.
> The World still in such impious error strays
> That all ways fearful are but pious ways.[28]

Chapman's admiration for Somerset was not, however, merely fatuous and obstinate, nor was it mere gratitude for past favors. Almost all the accounts agree in describing Somerset as personally handsome, affable, and admirable. Even the malicious

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 271. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 247. [28] *Ibid.*

Weldon describes him as "generally beloved for himself and disposition, as hated afterward for his linking himself into that family [the Howards]. Before this marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the State or any base thing for his private interest." [29] He further says: "He was naturally of a noble disposition, and it may be justly said of him, that never could be said of any before, or ever will be of any after him; — he never got suit for himselfe or friends that was burdensome to the commonwealth — no monopolies, no impositions. . . ." [30]

Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in his *Memoirs* comments on Somerset's wisdom and discretion. Mr. John Chamberlain writes of his generosity to Sir Ralph Winwood on May 6, 1613, "I know not what I can write you for News from here. . . . I doubt not but you have heard what a Noble Part and Example my Lord of Rochester [Somerset] shewed here of late; for we being at a dead lift and at our Wits end for want of Money, he sent for some officers of the Receit, and delivering them the Keys

[29] Of Sir Anthony Weldon we know little aside from the delightful gossip he furnishes us about the court of James I in *The Court and Character of King James,* which was published about 1650 and which aroused enough enthusiasm to explain a second edition in 1651, and enough resentment among zealous loyalists to inspire an answer in the anonymous tract *Aulicus Coquinariae.* There are a few facts known about Weldon himself which add interest to what he says. Under Queen Elizabeth, his father was a clerk of the kitchen, which fact, according to his anonymous accuser, explained his malicious skill as a purveyor of backstairs scandal. Sir Anthony, however, rose to be a clerk of the Green Cloth under James I, and in that capacity accompanied the King on his visit to Scotland. His contempt for that land-of-the-lean was so great that he indiscreetly expressed it on paper and was as a consequence removed from his office. Later, in the civil war, he sided with Parliament, and served as chairman of the Kentish committee for the sequestration of royalists. Although accused of prejudice, his pamphlet has been verified in many important respects by other contemporary letters and documents, for example in the *Loseley Manuscripts.* Weldon's favorable comments on Somerset are especially noteworthy when we consider his usual malice toward the Stuarts. See *The Court and Character of King James,* I, p. 391.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 394.

of a Chest, let them take what they found there for the King's use, which they say was four or five and twenty thousand Pounds in Gold."[31] Jesse likewise praises him: "The conduct of the favourite at this period was certainly discreet and even praise worthy. He agreeably disappointed the English courtiers by exhibiting no partiality for his Scotch connections. We are told that he had but one friend and one servant of that nation. His manners also were invariably flattering and conciliating. He was civil to the scholar and liberal to the soldier."[32]

His conduct at the trial and his constant stand on his own innocence throughout the whole proceedings were generally admired and wondered at as strange and somewhat unaccountable. Mr. John Castle wrote to his friend Mr. James Milles on November 28, 1615: "It is generally said that the Lord of Somerset shall come to his trial on the 5th of December. He still seems not to be shaken with these storms, making great protestations to the lieutenant present what he will do when he shall return to his wonted station and brightness. If this constancy and carelessness be of innocency, I should admire him as a man that hath his mind of an admirable building; but if it proceed from insensibleness, I will pity him as more wretched than those that have been found nocent."[33] John Throckmorton comments on

[31] Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State,* III, p. 453; Sir Ralph Winwood, well known as foreign ambassador and later as Secretary of State under James I.

[32] John H. Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts,* I, p. 249.

[33] Dr. Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First,* II, p. 152. Dr. Godfrey Goodman was educated under the historian Camden, won fame as a preacher, was appointed in 1617 to the canonry of Windsor, in 1620 to the deanery of Rochester, and in 1625 was made Bishop of Gloucester. His *Memoirs* are especially valuable to offset such writers as Weldon and Peyton, since he was neither malicious nor a Puritan. He was in fact hated by the Puritans, was taxed with Popery by Archbishop Williams, and yet, as Wood describes him, was "hurtful to none but himself, was pitiful to the poor, and hospitable to his neighbors."

the same in a letter to William Trumbull: "The Earl seems little to care for this aspersion and shows no manner of change in his countenance, which is strange."[34] Amos quotes an observation of an eye-witness at the trial: "A thing worthy of note in him was his constancy and undaunted carriage in all the time of his arraignment, which, as it began, so it did continue to the end without any change or alteration."[35] The author of the *Narrative History of King James for the First Fourteen Years* says that "Sommerset pleaded ignorance and that these objections were mere tricks to entrap him and incense the king against him," and that "Sommerset stood to it still that he was not agent in it and that these accusations did nothing touch him."[36] "He ever stood on his innocency," said Sir George More, Keeper of the Tower of London, "and would never be brought to confess that he had any hand with his wife in the poisoning of Overbury, knew not of it, nor consented unto it."[37] "For my part, I protest before God I was neither guilty of, nor privy to, any wrong that Overbury suffered in this kind,"[38] said Somerset himself at the trial. Sir Francis Bacon in a letter to King James writes concerning the nature of the proof against Somerset that "it rests chiefly on presumptions."[39] And Sir Edward Coke in the trial of Sir John Hollis, a friend of Somerset, reveals a rather general suspicion of a conspiracy against Somerset: "As for Sir John Hollis," he said, "peradventure, he thinks as some have thought, that all this business is but a conspiracy against the Earl of Somerset."[40]

[34] *Ibid.*, II, p. 154.
[35] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[36] Somers, *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, II, p. 301.
[37] Alfred J. Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts and Other Rare Documents*, p. 406.
[38] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[39] *Cabala, Sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government*, pp. 53–55.
[40] Cuthbert W. Johnson, *The Life of Sir Edward Coke*, I, p. 279.

Nor was Chapman alone in believing Somerset innocent. "Many believe the Earl of Somerset guilty of Overbury's death," writes Sir Anthony Weldon, "but the most thought him guilty only of a breach of friendship (and that in a high point) by suffering his imprisonment, which was the high way to his murder, and this conjecture I take to be of the soundest opinion."[41] The author of the *Annals of King James,* published in 1681, writes: "Some that were then at Somerset's trial and not partial conceived in conscience and as himself says to the King, that he fell rather by want of well defending than by force of proofs."[42] "I have often taulked with Mr. James, his chyfe servant, about it," says Sir George More, Keeper of the Tower during Somerset's imprisonment there, "who ever wase of opinion y^{t} my Lord was cleere, and his Ladye only guiltie."[43] The Compte de Marests, French Ambassador to England at the time of the trial, writes of it to France: "That certainly the least country gentleman in England would not have suffered for what the Earl of Somerset was condemned, and that, if his enemies had not been powerful, he would not have been found guilty; for there was no convincing proof against him, but only circumstances such as might serve in France for putting him to the question, which was not the custom in England." He also expressed his regret at witnessing the Earl delivered into the hands of his enemies.[44]

There are many remarkable features of the trial, too, which would help to make Chapman, or anyone who knew the case, believe in Somerset's innocence. Papers and confessions were only partially read; many portions of examinations were suppressed so that the evidence might uniformly demonstrate guilt; none of the confessions made after the trials by the unfortunates

[41] Weldon, *op. cit.,* I, p. 426.
[42] Amos, *op. cit.,* p. 359.
[43] Kempe, *op. cit.,* p. 406, note.
[44] Amos, *op. cit.,* p. 358; also Thomas Carte, *A General History of England,* IV, p. 33.

who were executed for the crime in any way implicated Somerset as connected with the plot to murder Overbury; the prisoner, according to the conduct of state trials in that day, had no opportunity to hear evidence which would be produced against him until he was in court; he was allowed no counsel, but was allowed only an extemporaneous defense of himself against a well-planned and organized prosecution.[45]

Gardiner[46] speaks of the case thus: "The main weakness of the argument of the counsel for the crown was that they proved too much. Somerset, according to their showing, was constantly trying to poison Overbury, and yet all his efforts signally failed. Powder after powder, poisoned tart after poisoned tart, were sent, and yet Overbury would not die. At last an injection was administered by an apothecary's boy and Overbury succumbed at once. Yet no tittle of evidence was advanced to connect this last act with Somerset."

There is general agreement among modern historians that Somerset's guilt is very doubtful; that the evidence used against him as proof was entirely circumstantial; that the most unjust methods were used in court against him; and that the case would not stand against Somerset in law today.[47] When we consider then the circumstances of the trial, that Chapman with the general London crowd probably watched the court torture of his patron through a long hot day, "from ten in the morning to ten

[45] These proceedings were in no way exceptional but were in keeping with the regular criminal procedure of the day. Cf. Luke Owen Pike, *A History of Crime in England,* II.

[46] In article on Carr in *The Dictionary of National Biography.*

[47] See Philip Gibbs, *The Romance of George Villiers,* p. 46, Gardiner, *History of England,* II, Chap. XX, and Parry, *The Overbury Mystery.* Even Spedding in *An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon,* II, p. 125, although attempting to justify Bacon in the part he played against Somerset makes the following admission: "It is the peculiar infelicity of Somerset's case (supposing him to have been innocent) that the only evidence in his favor is the absence of direct and conclusive evidence against him."

at night"[48] heard Somerset's manly defense of himself against odds, and felt the unjustness of most of the so-called proof (as well as gratitude for the man who had befriended him and was now fighting for his life in a hostile court room), we cannot wonder that Chapman would whole-heartedly throw over all thought of his own interests and loudly support his friend's innocence.

[48] Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 302.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICS IN THE COURT OF JAMES

IT WAS not to Chapman alone, however, that the fall of the Earl of Somerset was of momentous importance. For in the reign of James I the fall of a favorite meant the fall of a party, the change of home and foreign policy. Consequently, court intrigue became the foremost political interest, and even assumed national significance. "The greatest events of this reign such as they are," says Oldmixon, "turn upon the Passions and Vices of Minions and Favorites."[1] Statesmen engaged their weightiest thoughts in tossing off none-too-delicate flatteries for the ear of their vain monarch, or in hunting out handsome faces to appeal to the critical royal eye. "Here was pretty juggling," aptly comments Weldon, "the courte being then but an academy of juglers."[2]

In the years 1614 to 1616, the event of greatest political significance was the fall of an old favorite and the rise of a new. For the King began to tire of Somerset. And the dashing young George Villiers had newly arrived at court. The latter, a young man of twenty-two, despite "a rusty black suit, broken out in divers places," attracted the notice of the enemies of Somerset sometime in 1614.[3] Possessed of a handsome face and graceful figure, he was more than likely to engage the attention of King James, whose susceptibility to such prepossessing assets was the stock-in-trade of rising politicians. But he was possessed also of personal charm and winning manners, besides a tongue capable of

[1] Oldmixon, *The History of England,* p. 43.
[2] Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James,* I, p. 396.
[3] Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *The Autobiography and Correspondence,* I, p. 86.

turning gall to honey, so that it was no wonder that the Herberts, the Seymours, the Russells, and all those who were weary of Somerset's pride and envied his power, saw in this youth "a decoy duck for rich game." [4]

In the *Aulicus Coquinariae,* a storehouse of Stuart gossip, the story is told how the members of these great families plotted and schemed against Somerset, to bring the new star upon the royal stage:

"And it was plotted long before, and Villiers sent for to the same purpose. And this indeed was done by practice of some English lords.

"And I can tell him the time and place. There was a great but private entertainment at supper, at Baynard's Castle, by the family of Herberts, Hartford, and Bedford, and some others; by the way in Fleet street, hung out Somerset's picture, at a painter's stall; which one of the lords envying, bade his footman fling dirt in the face, which he did; and gave me occasion thereby to ask my companion upon what score that was done. He told me that this meeting would discover; and truly I waited near and opportune, and so was acquainted with the design to bring in Villiers. And thus backt, our new favourite needed not to borrow, nor to seek out many bravoes to second his quarrels which at first I confess he met with." [5]

Speaking of the same scheming, Archbishop Abbot, who "had an aversion to Somerset for his marriage with the Countess of Essex," [6] says: "I draw to a conclusion; only repute it not amiss (because so much falleth in here) to observe a few words of the Duke of Buckingham, not as now he is, but as he was in his rising. . . . King James, for many insolencies, grew weary of

[4] Gibbs, *The Romance of George Villiers,* p. 2.

[5] *Aulicus Coquinariae,* II, pp. 261–262. An anonymous tract written in defense of King James by an ardent royalist, in reply to Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of King James.*

[6] Oldmixon, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

Somerset; and the Kingdom groaning under the triumvirate of Northampton, Suffolk, and Somerset, (though Northampton soon after died) was glad to be rid of him. We could have no good way to effectuate that which was the common desire, as to bring in another in his room; one Nail (as the Proverb is) being to be driven out by another. It was now observed, that the King began to cast his eye upon George Villiers, who was then Cup-bearer, and seemed a modest and a courteous Youth. But King James had a fashion, that he would never admit any to nearness about himself, but such an one as the Queen should commend unto him, and make some suit on his behalf; that if the Queen afterwards, being ill intreated, should complain of this Dear one, he might make his answer, It is long of yourself, for you were the party that commended him unto me. Our old Master took delight strangely in things of this nature.

" That Noble Queen (who now resteth in Heaven) knew her Husband well; and having been bitten with Favourites both in England and Scotland was very shie to adventure upon this request. King James, in the meantime, more and more loathed Somerset, and did not much conceal it, that his affection increased toward the other; but the Queen would not come to it, albeit divers Lords (whereof some are dead, and some yet living) did earnestly sollicit her Majesty thereunto. When it would not do, I was very much moved to put to my helping hand, they knowing, that Queen Anne was pleased to give me more credit than ordinary, which all her attendants knew she continued till the time of her death. I laboured much, but could not prevail; the Queen oft saying to me, My Lord, you and the rest of your friends know not what you do: I know your Master better than you all; for if this young man be once brought in, the first person that he will plague, must be you that labour for him; yea, I shall have my part also: The King will teach him to despise and hardly intreat us all, that he may seem to be beholden to none but him-

self. Noble Queen! how like a Prophetess or Oracle did you speak!

"Notwithstanding this, we were still instant, telling her Majesty, that the change would be for the better; For George was of a good nature, which the other was not; and if he should degenerate, yet it would be a long time before he were able to attain to that height of evil, which the other had. In the end, upon importunity, Queen Anne condescended, and so pressed it with the King, that he attended thereunto: Which was so striken while the Iron was hot, that in the Queen's Bed-chamber, the King knighted him with the Rapier which the Prince did wear." [7]

Sir Anthony Weldon also gossips about the new court star: "the king cast a glancing eye towards him, which was easily perceived by such as observed their princes humour. . . . Then one gave him his place of cup-bearer, that he might be in the king's eye; another sent to his mercer and taylor to put good cloathes on him; a third to his sempster for curious linnen, and all as incomes to obtain offices upon his future rise; then others tooke upon them to be his bravoes, to undertake his quarrels upon affronts put upon him by Somerset's faction: so all hands helped to the piecing up this new favourite." [8]

Despite the variety in these accounts, all agree that a cabal of English nobles joined in a conspiracy to raise Villiers, whom they looked upon as their tool, in order to supplant Somerset, whose arrogance and independence they hated. And all agree also that joined to this faction was the Queen, who according to one account, "was personally jealous of the favourite," [9] according to another, "regarded Somerset with a very inauspicious eye," [10] and according to still another, did what she could to in-

[7] John Rushworth, *Historical Collections, Archbishop Abbot his Narrative*, p. 456.

[8] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 398.

[9] Gardiner, *Dictionary of National Biography*, under "Robert Carr."

[10] Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts and Other Rare Documents*, p. 391.

crease the dislike of the courtiers for Somerset, openly encouraged them to talk freely against the favorite, and when she saw signs of favor to George Villiers was persuaded by these same courtiers to add her influence toward the installing of the younger man.[11]

But the cabal against Somerset was by no means immediately successful, for though the King was attracted by the grace and gayety of the young George, he still turned his graver ear to the counsels of Somerset. And had Somerset been of a more yielding nature he would undoubtedly have retained this more important place. But not disposed to share favor with another, he tried by sheer force of will to dominate the King, and protested against the faction leagued against him. In doing so he roused that Scotch stubbornness which was a prominent trait of the King. James loved to have his subjects and his great men bow before him, as to a sacred being, and he was stung to resentment by the obstinate high-handed insolence of the man whom he had made next in power to himself. He tried pleading with the favorite; he reminded Somerset of their friendship. Early in 1615, he wrote:

> First, I take God, the searcher of all hearts, to record that, in all the time past of idle talk, I never knew nor could, out of any observation of mine, find any appearance of any such court faction as you have apprehended; and so far was I ever from overseeing or indirectly feeling of it (if I had apprehended it) as I protest to God, I would have run upon it with my feet, as upon fire, to have extinguished it, if I could have seen any sparkle of it. . . .
>
> Next, I take the same God to record, that never man of any degree did directly or indirectly let fall unto me anything that might be interpreted for the lessening of your credit with me, or that one man should not rule all, and that no man's dependence should be but upon the king, or any such like phrase; which, if I had ever found, then would I have behaved myself as became so great a king, and so infinitely loving a master.
>
> Thirdly, as God shall save me, I meant not in the letter I wrote unto you to be sparing, in the least jot, of uttering my affection towards you,

[11] Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43.

as far as yourself could require. . . . For I am far from thinking of any possibility of any man ever to come within many degrees of your trust with me, as I must ingenuously confess you have deserved more trust and confidence of me than ever man did, in secrecy above all flesh, in feeling and impartial respect, as well to my honour in every degree as to my profit. . . . And in those points I confess I never saw any come towards your merit; I mean, in the points of an inwardly trusty friend and servant. But, as a piece of ground cannot be so fertile, but if either by the own natural rankness or evil manuring thereof it become also fertile of strong and noisome weeds, it then proves useless and altogether unprofitable; even so, these before rehearsed rich and rare parts and merits of yours have been of long time, but especially of late, since the strange phrenzy took you, so powdered and mixed with strange streams of unquietness, passion, fury, and insolent pride, and (which is worst of all) with a settled kind of induced obstinacy, as it chokes and obscures all these excellent and good parts that God hath bestowed upon you.

For, first, being uttered at unseasonable hours, and so bereaving me of my rest, was so far from condemning your own indiscretion therein, as by the contrary it seemed you did it of purpose to grieve and vex me. Next, your fiery boutades, were coupled with a continual dogged sullen behavior, especially shortly after your fall and in all the times of your other diseases. Thirdly, in all your dealings with me, you have many times uttered a kind of distrust of the honesty of my friendship towards you. And, fourth (which is worst of all), and worse than any other thing than can be imagined, you have, in many of your mad fits, done what you can to persuade me that you mean not sō much to hold me by love as by awe, and that you have me so far in your reverence, as that I dare not offend you. . . .

To conclude, then, this discourse proceeding from the infinite grief of a deeply wounded heart, — I protested in the presence of the Almighty God, that I have borne this grief within me to the uttermost of my ability, and as never grief since my birth seated so heavily upon me, so have I borne it as long as possibly I can. . . . Be not the occasion of the hastening of his death through grief who was not only your creator under God, but hath many a time prayed for you, which I never did for any subject alive but for you. But the lightening my heart of this burden is not now the only cause that makes me press you undelayedly to ease my grief; for your own furious assaults upon me at unseasonable hours hath now made it known to so many that you have been in some cross discourse with me, as there must be some exterior signs of the amendment of your behavior towards me. These observations have been made and collected upon your long being with me at unseasonable hours, — loud speaking on both parts, — and their observation of my sadness after your parting, and want of rest.

What shall be the best remedy for this, I will tell you, be kind. But for the easing of my inward and consuming grief, all I crave is, that in all the words and actions of your life you may ever make it appear to me, that you never think to hold grip of me but out of my mere love, and not one hair by force. Consider that I am a free man, if I were not a king. Remember that all your being, except your breathing and soul, is from me. I told you twice or thrice, you might lead me by the heart and not by the nose. I cannot deal honestly, if I deal not plainly with you. If ever I find that you think to retain me by one sparkle of fear, all the violence of my love will in that instant be changed into as violent a hatred. God is my judge, my love hath been infinite towards you; and the only strength of my affection towards you hath made me bear with these things in you, and bridle my passions to the uttermost of my ability. Let me be met, then, with your entire heart, but softened by humility. Let me never apprehend that you disdain my person and undervalue my qualities; and let it not appear that any part of your former affection is cold towards me. Hold me thus by the heart; you may build upon my favour as upon a rock that shall never fail you, that never shall weary to give new demonstrations of my affection towards you; nay, that shall never suffer any to rise in any degree of my favour, except they may acknowledge and thank you as a furtherer of it, and that I may be persuaded in my heart, that they love and honour you for my sake: not that any living shall come to the twentieth degree of your favour.

For, although your good and heartily humble behaviour may wash quite out of my heart your bypast errors, yet shall I never pardon myself, but shall carry that cross to the grave with me for raising a man so high, as might make him to presume to pierce my ears with such speeches.

To make an end, then, of this unpleasing discourse, think not to value yourself so much upon other merits, as by love and heartily humble obedience. It hath ever been my common answer to any, that would plead for favour to a puritan minister by reason of his rare gifts, that I had rather have a conformable man with but ordinary parts, than the rarest men in the world that will not be obedient; for that leaven of pride sours the whole loaf. What can or ever could thus trouble your mind? . . .

Thus have I now set down unto you what I would say; if I were to make my testament; it lies in your hands to make of me what you please, — either the best master and truest friend, or if you force me once to call you ingrate, which the God of heaven forbid, no so great earthly plague can light upon you! In a word, you may procure me to delight to give daily more and more demonstrations of my favours towards you, if the fault be not in yourself.[12]

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[12] James Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England,* II, p. 126. For evidence as to the date of this letter see Gardiner, *op. cit.,* II, p. 320, note.

But the Earl was not conformable, nor was he humble. His protests and presumptions only increased, and the knife's edge under James' entreaty showed itself. James again wrote to him in exasperation, though still with a note of pleading:

> I have been needlessly troubled this day with your desperate letters: you may take the right way if you list, and neither grieve me nor yourself. No man's nor woman's credit is able to cross you at my hands, if you pay me a part of that you owe me. But, how can you give over that inward affection, and yet be a dutiful servant, I cannot understand that distinction. Heaven and earth shall bear me witness that, if you do but the half your duty unto me, you may be with me in the old manner, only by expressing that love to my person and respect to your master, that God and man crave of you, with a hearty and feeling penitence of your bypast errors. . . .
>
> God move your heart to take the right course, for the fault shall only be in yourself: and so farewell. . . .
>
> JAMES R.[13]

Meantime, as Somerset carried himself more proudly, James showed more and more favor toward Villiers, and the young man "in one day, the 23d of April, 1615, was both knighted and made one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber"[14] besides being endowed with a pension of £1,000 a year.[15] Somerset was deserted except for the family of the Howards. Courtiers now swarmed around the gracious Villiers. And among those who hovered, ready to swoop down upon the least crumb of favor, was Sir Francis Bacon, not yet risen to the height of Lord Chancellor, but ever looking up to new stars who might offer a helping hand. Two years before he had competed with the many fawners at the marriage festivities of Somerset, by presenting at his own expense the elaborate *Masque of Flowers*. Yelverton, who owed to Somerset his place of Solicitor-General, wished to join with

[13] Halliwell, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 328, for evidence as to date of this, July 13–19, 1615.

[14] Birch, *Lives and Characters of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*, p. 67.

[15] Rushworth, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

Bacon in this presentation by sharing the cost, which amounted to £2,000. But Bacon "from an ambition of ingratiating himself with the Favourite, would not admit of any co-rival in his sycophancy and extravagance." [16]

For a while the King amused himself by visiting the great houses, where one faction vied with the other in magnificence of entertainment. However, after much jollity, as the King returned to London, he bethought himself of means to procure peace between his clashing favorites. Even an armed truce would be an improvement to the King who so hated friction. Weldon tells an entertaining story of this attempted peace:

"After all this feasting, homeward came the king, who desired by all meanes to reconcile this clashing between his declining and rising favourite; to which end, at Lulworth, the king imployed Sir Humphrey May, a great servant to Sommerset, and a wise servant to Villiers; but with such instructions, as if it came from himself, and Villiers had order presently after Sir Humphrey May's return, to present himself and service to Somerset. 'My Lord, (said he) Sir George Villiers will come to you to offer his service and desire to be your creature, and therefore refuse him not, embrace him, and your lordship shall still stand a great man, though not the sole favourite.' My lord seemed averse; Sir Humphrey then told him in plain termes, that he was sent by the king to advise it, and that Villiers would come to him to cast himselfe into his protection, to take his rise under the shadow of his wings. Sir Humphrey May was not parted from my lord half an hour, but in comes Sir George Villiers, and used these very words: 'My Lord, I desire to be your servant and your creature, and shall desire you to take my court preferment under your favour, and your lordship shall find me as faithfull

[16] Amos, *The Great Oyer of Poisoning,* p. 13; and Edward P. Stratham, *A Jacobean Letter-Writer,* p. 109.

a servant unto you as ever did serve you.' My lord returned this quick and short answer: 'I will none of your service, and you shall none of my favor. I will, if I can, break your neck, and of that be confident.' This was but a harsh compliment and savoured more of spirit than wisdom; and since that time, breaking their necks was their aims."[17]

We see reflected in Somerset's reply here, the same attitude as that of the Queen when applied to by Archbishop Abbot. Each knew the King, the favorite as well as the Queen, and each must have scented in such a request the king-craft upon which James so prided himself. Each must have realized that such a petition for favor was but a sly way of undermining later objection. And Somerset would not cease protesting against rivalry in the royal affections. Nevertheless the King still openly defended Somerset against his enemies.[18]

Now two years after the death of Sir Thomas Overbury rumor suggested murder. And rumor floated to the ears of the King. Just who constituted the bearer of this news is a matter of doubt, since contemporary accounts vary so greatly. But since Secretary Winwood's word is usually reliable, we will take it that he was the one who carried the tale, especially since it agrees with the greater number of accounts. He himself says: "Not long since there was some notice brought unto me that Sir Thomas Overbury . . . was poisoned in the Tower, whilst he was there a prisoner; with this I acquainted his Majesty, who, though he could not out of the clearness of his judgment but perceive that it might closely touch some that were in nearest place about him, yet such is his love to justice that he gave open way to the searching of this business."[19] Weldon accounts for Winwood's activity in the case on the grounds of a personal griev-

[17] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 406–408.
[18] Gardiner, *op. cit.*, II, Ch. XIX.
[19] Winwood to Wake, Nov. 15, 1615, *ibid.*, II, p. 331

ance.[20] Although Winwood had received the appointment of Secretary of State after long waiting, on March 29, 1614, he was kept from any real authority in the office and largely excluded from the royal confidence by Somerset. "Somerset's using of Sir Ralph Wynwood (whom himself brought in for a secretary of state) in so scornful a manner, (he having only the title, the Earl himselfe keeping the seals, and doing the business,) make Wynwood endeavor to ruin him, who soon got an opportunity, by frequenting the Countess of Shrewsbury, then prisoner in the Tower, who told Wynwood on a time, that Overbury was poisoned. . . . Wynwood, it was thought, acquainted the king with it, knowing how willingly he would have been rid of Somerset; yet the king durst not bring it in question, nor any question would have been, had not Somerset thought to cross him in his passion of love to his new favourite. . . . Yet Wynwood did now carry himselfe in a braving way of contestation against Somerset, struck in with the faction of Villiers."[21]

The King probably seeing in this a good opportunity to rid himself of an unruly servant sent post haste for his Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, to whom he entrusted the case, gave him the strictest charge to examine closely into the facts of the alleged murder and kneeling called down upon himself and his posterity the curses of God, if he did not bring the perpetrators of it to a speedy punishment.[22] "It's verily believed," comments Weldon, "had Somerset complied with Villiers, Overbury's death

[20] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 403–404; also Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State*, pp. 70–71.

[21] D'Ewes states that Somerset later upbraided Winwood with ingratitude: "that having been advanced by his only means to the secretary's place, he would now become the instrument of his ruin. But Sir Ralph answered him that for his secretary's place he might thank seven thousand pounds . . . which he gave him, and as for the business in question he could neither, with the safety of his life, or conscience, have concealed it; or words to that effect." *Autobiography*, I, 70, or Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 71, note.

[22] Kempe, *op. cit.*, p. 391; also Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 409.

had still layn raked up in his owne ashes. . . . And now begins the game to be plaid, in which Somerset must be the loser; the cards being shuffled, cut, and dealt between the King and Sir Edward Cook, chief justice, whose daughter Purbeck, Villiers his brother had married, or was to marry, and therefore a fit instrument to ruine Somerset, and Secretary Wynwood. These all plaid: the stake, Somerset's life, and his ladies, and their fortunes, and the family of Suffolk; some of them plaid booty, and in truth, the game was not plaid above board." [23]

This is the same Sir Edward Coke, who as Attorney-General, had made himself infamous by his prosecution of Essex, Southampton, and Sir Walter Raleigh, and the same Coke who for years had rivaled the great Francis Bacon in love as well as at court. Notorious in his day for what Chief Justice Jeffries called "using the rough side of his tongue," he even called forth a comment from John Donne in a poetical letter to Ben Jonson:

> With guilty conscience let me be worse stung,
> Than with Popham's sentence thieves, or Coke's tongue
> Traitors are.

Sir Walter Scott, speaking of Coke's connection with the trial of Raleigh, says: "Cook was then Attorney-General, and his unseemly and outrageous violence in conducting the prosecutions against Raleigh, stamps him one of the most infamous tools that ever served the purposes of tyrannic power. He used the pronoun *thou* in addressing the prisoner; afforded him no better words than viper and traitor while he was yet on his defense; brow-beat and insulted his witnesses; and, when he had prospect of procuring a conviction, exclaimed, 'Now Jesus Christ shall be glorified'." [24] All of the contemporary accounts of the trials over which Coke presided agree as to the furious zeal, the rancour, and the brutal invective which Coke unjustly used

[23] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 408.
[24] Osborne, *Traditionall Memoyres*, I, p. 159, note.

against his victims. Even those biographers who praise him for his later defense of the people's rights condemn him for his ferocity in reviling and insulting Raleigh, Essex, and Southampton. Johnson in his *Life* puts the case as mildly as is possible: "Coke appeared on this trial [that of Raleigh] with little advantage: his language was coarse; his observations brutal; his temper savage. He had to make up by the violence of his demeanor for the poverty of his case, and no master could have been more zealously served than James I was in this instance by his Attorney-General." [25]

Sir Francis Bacon, in an expostúlatory letter to Sir Edward Coke, proposes setting him down in a true glass so that he "knowing the general opinion may not altogether neglect or contemn it, but mend what you find amiss in your self, and retain what your judgment shall approve." He then proceeds to deliver the naked truth of opinion about his fellow lawyer: "First, therefore, behold your errours: In discourse, you delight to speak too much, not to hear other men; this some say, becomes a Pleader not a judge: for by this sometimes your affections are entangled with a love of your own Arguments, though they be the weaker, and rejecting of those, which, when your affections were setled, your own judgment would allow for strongest. Thus while you speak in your own Element, the Law, no man ordinarily equals you; but when you wander, (as you often delight to do) you then wander indeed, and give never such satisfaction as the curious time requires. This is not caused by any natural defect, but first for want of election, when you, having a large and fruitfull mind, should not so much labour what to speak, as to find what to leave unspoken: Rich soils are often to be weeded.

"Secondly, you cloy your Auditory; when you would be observed, speech must either be sweet, or short.

"Thirdly, you converse with Books not men, and Books spe-

[25] Johnson, *Life of Sir Edward Coke,* I, p. 156.

cially humane, and have no excellent choice with men, who are the best of books: But if sometimes you would in your familiar discourse, hear others, and make election of such as know what they speak, you should know many of these tales you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things, which you delight to repeat, and serve in for novelties, to be but stale. As, in your pleadings, you were wont to insult over misery, and to inveigh bitterly at the persons (which bred you many enemies, whose poyson yet swelleth, and the effects now appear) so are you still wont to be a little careless in this point, to praise, or disgrace, upon sleight grounds, and that sometimes untruly; so that your reproofs, or commendations, are, for the most part, neglected and contemned; when the censure of a Judge (coming slow, butt sure) should be a brand to the guilty, and a crown to the virtuous. You will jest at any man in publick, without respect of the person's dignity or your own: This disgraceth your gravity, more than it can advance the opinion of your wit; and so do all actions which, we see, you do directly with a touch of vain-glory, having no respect to the true end. You make the Law to lean too much to your opinion, whereby you show yourself to be a legal Tyrant, striking with that weapon where you please, since you are able to turn the edge any way." [26]

This is the man who was chosen by James to investigate the rumor, implicating the Somersets, that Sir Thomas Overbury had been murdered in the Tower while imprisoned by the King's express orders; — a man who had incurred only deserved odium for his barbarous usage of former victims, and whose success was not less than his zeal in obtaining convictions, with or with-

[26] *Cabala, sive scrinia sacra, Mysteries of State and Government,* Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Edward Coke, pp. 88–90. Bacon may have been retaliating to a slur upon his *Novum Organum;* Coke said it was only fit for the Ship of Fools. Spedding, *An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon,* II, p. 643.

out evidence. Weldon, therefore, is especially apt in his remark that " Somerset must be the loser."

But though Coke was very zealous and indefatigable in ferreting out the murder, Bacon, spurred on by the King and George Villiers, was the directing force, and it was due to his careful planning that all ran so smoothly toward the verdict.[27] Of the parts played by the three latter in obtaining a conviction for Somerset, we have ample evidence in the letters of Bacon to James and Villiers. In one written January 22, 1616, Bacon is very much concerned that the thread of evidence against Somerset " be well spun, and woven together," for he says, " it is one thing to deal with a Jury of Middlesex and Londoners, and another to deal with Peers." He therefore advises James: " First, That your Majesty will be carefull to chuse a Steward of Judgment, that may be able to moderate the Evidence, and cut off Digressions; for I may interrupt, but I cannot silence: The other, That there may be special care taken, for the ordering of the Evidence, not only for the knitting, but for the lift, and (to use your Majestie's own word) the confining of it. This to do, if your Majesty vouchsafe to direct it yourself, that is the best; if not, I humbly pray you, to require my Lord Chancellor, that he, together with my Lord Chief Justice, will confer with myself, and my fellows, that shall be used for the marshalling and bounding of the Evidence, that we may have the help of his opinion, as well as that of my Lord Chief Justice, whose great travels as I much commend, yet that same Plerophoria, or over-confidence, doth alwayes subject things to a great deal of chance." [28] On April 13, 1616, he writes to Villiers that he feels it necessary to know the King's pleasure in some things before he can proceed further, and feels that the examination of Somerset should be

[27] At the time, this was of course the customary procedure for an officer of the king.

[28] *Cabala,* Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, to the King, p. 33.

delayed until the Duke of Lennox [friend of Somerset] could be present to "sweeten the cup of Medicine."[29] On April 18, he acknowledges a letter of brief and clear directions as to proceedings from Villiers. On May 2, he acknowledges a letter from James with marginal notes for Bacon's directions, and makes the statement that Lady Somerset had cleared the Earl of an implication in a matter of some poisoned tarts, although three days later he announces his intention of omitting this favorable bit of evidence in the trial. He further reveals that he, as well as the King, had been in constant consultation with the judges who were to consider the evidence against Somerset, and finds them in perfect agreement already that "the evidence is fair and good."[30] The letter of May 5 proves the King's predetermination to show mercy to Somerset after his conviction, which also is certainly determined upon. The next letter shows the efforts made to extort a confession of guilt from Somerset by promises of the King's mercy:

"But for your Majesties mercy (altho he were not to expect we should make any promises) we did assure him, that your Majesty was compassionate of him, if he gave you some ground wheron to work; that as long as he stood on his Innocency, and Tryal, your Majesty was tied in honour to proceed according to Justice, and that he little understood (being a close prisoner) how much the expectation of the world, besides your love to Justice it self, ingaged your Majesty, whatsoever your inclination were; but nevertheless, that a frank and clear Confession might open the gate of mercy and help to satisfie the point of honour.

"That his Lady (as he knew and that after many Oathes and Imprecations to the contrary) had nevertheless in the end, been touched with remorse, confessed, that she that led him to offend

[29] *Ibid.*, Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, to Sir George Villiers, p. 34.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

might leade him likewise to repent of his offence. That the confession of one of them could not fitly doe either of them much good, but the confession of both of them might work some further effect towards both. And, therefore, in conclusion, we wished him not to shut the gate of your Majesties mercy against himself, by being obdurate any longer.

"Not to trouble your Majesty with Circumstances of his answers, the sequel was no other, but that we found him still, not to come any degree further on to confess; onely his behaviour was very sober, and modest, and milde (differing apparently from other times) but yet, as it seem'd, resolv'd to expect his Tryal." [31]

One of the most convincing documents which shows the exact attitude of the King and of Bacon is one in which the King expresses his opinion as to various possible developments, and Bacon gives his judgment upon them.[32] It is there set down very clearly that the King wishes to force a confession from Somerset before his trial; [33] that, however, he expects the Lady to confess and Somerset to stand on his innocence; that James, in such a case, wonders if stay of judgment would be according to law; that Bacon sees grounds for Mercy in the confession of the Lady, and also for Somerset "upon the nature of the proof, because it rests chiefly upon presumptions"; that Bacon by his instructions from the King, feels it necessary to "so moderate the manner of charging him, as it may make him not odious beyond the extent of Mercy"; and that James and Bacon agree as to using either fair means or foul in order to obtain a conviction.[34]

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–55.

[33] For proof of this see also Kempe, *op. cit.*, James to Sir George More. May 9, 1616.

[34] They conjecture as to the possibility of an acquittal, and in such a case, plan to remand Somerset to the Tower a close prisoner on some other pretext.

One of Bacon's papers considers the question of trying the Earl before his wife for fear she might clear him if tried first, and so prevent the Earl's conviction.[35] And in order that she might come to trial first, a careful scheme was laid to prevent her from proving the Earl's innocence. In a letter to Villiers, May 16, 1616, Bacon sets forth this plan fully: "In this my Lord Chancellor and I have likewise used a point of providence; for I did forecast, that if in that narrative, by the connection of things, anything should be spoken, that should show him guilty, she might break forth into passionate protestations for his clearing: which though it may be justly made light of, yet it is better avoided. Therefore, my Lord Chancellor and I have devised that upon the entrance of that declaration she shall, in respect of her weakness, and not to add farther affliction, be withdrawn."[36] Such were the wily maneuvers which finally resulted in the Earl of Somerset's conviction and sentence.

There were two others besides the King, Bacon, and Villiers, who played important parts in the conspiracy against Somerset. Sir Henry Montagu, one of the Sergeants at the Trial and later Lord High Treasurer (1620), opened the case and made one of the most important accusations against the Earl, namely that he had sent to the Tower the poison which caused Overbury's death.[37] And Chancellor Ellesmere, then an old man and soon to resign his place to Bacon, acted as Lord High Steward. It was on Bacon's advice, that someone be selected who would "marshall and bound the evidence"[38] in case anything should develop in favor of the prisoner, that James chose Ellesmere for this office.

[35] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 442. *Questions legal for the Judges:* "Whether his trial shall not be set first, and hers after, because then any conceit, which may be brought by her clearing of him, may be prevented; and it may be he will be in a better temper, hoping of his own clearing and of her respiting."

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

[37] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[38] Cf. note 28 of this chapter.

And it was against him that Somerset in a letter to the King,[39] remonstrated that James had so far forsaken him as to turn over to his enemies the prosecution of his case.

We thus see Somerset in his trial beset by enemies or self-seekers: Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State; Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice; Chancellor Ellesmere, Lord High Steward; Sir Francis Bacon, to whom a conviction meant bait for the Chancellorship; Sir Henry Montagu, later Lord Treasurer; James I, whose strange profession of affection for Somerset agreed ill with his crafty intriguing with Coke and Bacon; and the new favorite, George Villiers, who saw in a conviction an opportunity to rid himself of a troublesome rival.

We see also the success of Somerset's foes. The Lady confessed, and Somerset stood on his innocence, yet both were convicted and sentenced to death. And as Weston, the first victim in the poisoning process, feared, the great flies escaped while the little ones were caught in the net. Lady Somerset was granted a pardon on July 13, 1616, although she remained imprisoned in the Tower; but no such pardon was extended to Somerset. There is evidence, however, that such a pardon was offered to him for certain concessions.[40] But as he had indignantly or coldly rejected all such promises of mercy held out to him before his trial in exchange for a confession, so now, still protesting his innocence, he refused a pardon. Consequently, although freed from the Tower in January, 1622,[41] the judgment of death hung over his head for years, in fact, until four months before the death of James, when he received a formal and full pardon.

"He then resolved never to have a pardon," [42] says Sir Anthony Weldon, speaking of the Earl after his trial. The same is en-

[39] Halliwell, *op. cit.*, II, p. 134.

[40] Gardiner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 361, note; also *Cabala*, E. of Sommerset to K. James, pp. 221–222.

[41] Gardiner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 363.

[42] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 425.

larged in the account by Lingard: "Within a few days the countess received a pardon: the same favour was refused by the Earl. He was, he said, an innocent and injured man, and would accept of nothing less than a reversal of judgment. But some years later, aware of the malice of his adversaries, and of the alienation of the prince, he sought that which he had before rejected, and received it with a promise of the restoration of his property. Within four months, however, James died; and Somerset solicited, but in vain, the fulfillment of the promise from the pity or equity of his successor." [43]

After Somerset's fall, Sir Ralph Winwood became Secretary of State, in deed as well as in name; Bacon, possibly for his diligence, was made Lord Chancellor [44] and was created Baron Verulam,[45] and Viscount St. Albans; [46] Coke, it was thought for his overzealousness and his injudicious hinting of mystery and further crime, even involving the death of "that sweet Prince Henry," [47] was "rebuked for his Indiscretion, and before the next year expired, removed from his Post"; [48] Sir Henry Montagu apparently won the favor of Villiers, as well as that of the King, for in 1616 he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench,[49]

[43] Lingard, *History of England,* IX, p. 120.

[44] January 7, 1617–18.

[45] July 11, 1618.

[46] January 27, 1620–21.

[47] See Spedding, *op. cit.,* II, 129, for an account of this. Also Amos, *op. cit.,* p. 387, and Oldmixon, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

[48] "The Lord Chief Justice having at this Trial [Monson's] let drop some Insinuations that Overbury's Death had somewhat in it of Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the same crime against Prince Henry, Sir Thomas Monson's Trial was laid aside, and himself soon after set at liberty, and the Lord Chief Justice was rebuked for his Indiscretion, and before the next year expired removed from his Post." Emlyn, *State Trials,* I, p. 348. Birch, also, in his short account of Coke in *Houbraken, Heads of Illustrious Persons,* tells that Coke "was accused of having acted dishonestly in the case of the Earl of Somerset, by suppressing some true confessions, and obtruding false ones." Cf. also Kempe, *op. cit.,* p. 412, and Stratham, *op. cit.,* p. 148.

[49] In this office it fell to him to pass sentence upon Sir Walter Raleigh in October, 1618.

and in 1620 was appointed Lord High Treasurer; and Villiers, now first favorite, ruled the King without a rival, and as one historian remarks " made the name of Somerset seem harmless in comparison." [50] " And now Buckingham," says Anthony Weldon, " having the Chancellor, Treasurer, and all great officers his very slaves, swells in the height of pride." [51]

Although Bacon, probably through his vigilance in this case and obedience to the King's wish, won the honors and titles which he had long coveted, he was not able to enjoy them long. As a result of an inquiry into abuses in the Courts of Justice, in March, 1621, only two months after being advanced to the dignity of Viscount of St. Albans, he was accused by the House of Commons of " a collection of corruptions " and was brought to trial. He acknowledged the charge and wrote a humble submission and confession, only trying to explain so as to mitigate the offence, and petitioned for mercy from the House of Lords. He was sentenced by that body to a fine of £40,000, imprisonment in the Tower during the King's pleasure, to be forever incapable of holding any office in the state or to sit in parliament and forbidden to come within the verge of the court.

Among our old friends of the earlier trial, we recognize in Bacon's trial Sir Edward Coke, who in the meantime has been reinstated in the King's favor, and is now a member of the committee of investigation against Bacon. We also recognize Buckingham, who gave the only vote among the Peers against Bacon's conviction. And here also is the Lord Treasurer, once Sir Henry Montagu, now Henry Viscount Mandeville, who is one of the committee of lords appointed to take from Bacon, after his sentence, the Broad Seal which was the sign of his office.[52] This was in March, 1621, when the penalty of death still hung over Somerset, whom Bacon had bent every effort to convict just four

[50] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[51] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 442.
[52] Cf. Account of Mandeville in *Dictionary of National Biography.*

years before. Now both are at the mercy of the King and his favorite. And both are destined to live out the remainder of their lives in retirement and disgrace.

It is at this time, after the conviction of Bacon and before Somerset had received a pardon, that is after March, 1621, and before December, 1624, that I believe Chapman wrote *The Tragedy of Chabot, Admiral of France.*

CHAPTER V

CHAPMAN'S PLAY AND ITS FRENCH SOURCE

THE period after the fall of Somerset was strikingly unproductive in Chapman's life, particularly of drama. This, of course, may be explained in part by his age, but also, I believe, by the added grief of poverty and neglect. The stimulus of success and hope no longer urged him on to dramatic effort, and, as a result, his last years are amazingly barren.

One of the few plays that definitely belongs to this time is *The Tragedy of Chabot,* the last of Chapman's plays dealing with French history. It was licensed on April 29, 1635,[1] was entered on the Stationer's Register on October 24, 1638, and was published in 1639, five years after Chapman's death, with the following title:

> *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admiral of France:* As it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the private house in Drury Lane. Written by George Chapman, and James Shirley, London. Printed by Thomas Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke. 1639.

We have no decisive proof of the date of its writing. Dr. Lehman, as we have seen, sets a probable date of 1621 or 1622. Professor Koeppel traces *Chabot* to Pasquier's history, published in 1621, and therefore believes that it could not have been written prior to that date. Professor Parrott agrees with Professor Koeppel about the source, but, in examining the various editions of the history, he finds that Pasquier's account of Chabot "received its definitive form in 1611." Hence, he concludes that "Chabot cannot have been written before 1611, and

[1] See Appendix B for a discussion of the licensing of the play.

may have been written any time thereafter, before or after 1621." [2] This is very far from definite, and allows a leeway from 1611 to 1634, the year of Chapman's death.

It is my firm conviction, however, that the date of writing can be more closely ascertained by a minute study of the play in relation to its time, and that we need not rely on Pasquier alone for its source. Before going further, therefore, it is necessary to discover just what in the play is left unaccounted for by its French source. We can do this only by a close and careful comparison between them. With this in mind, then, let us examine *Chabot* in relation to the ninth chapter, book sixteen, of *Les Recherches* (1621): "Du procéz extraordinaire fait, premierement à Messire Philippe Chabot Admiral de France, puis à Messire Guillaume Pouyet Chancelier."

The story of Chabot, as told by Pasquier, is very brief, and is all told in one short chapter, in less than four folio pages. It is introduced as a moral example, "in order," as Pasquier states, "to instruct all judges not to adapt their wills in judging to the singular wills of the Kings, their Masters." [3] Such a moral, as well as political, purpose would naturally enough attract the attention and interest of the moralist Chapman, and from its general application would invite him, with his allegorical habits, to apply it to a specific situation in England which was engaging his attention.

From the statement of his moral, Pasquier jumps immediately into the heart of his story. Philip Chabot, favored by Francis I of France, had been showered with honors and titles, until the King, through mere whim, began to weary of him. This whim was strengthened into real displeasure, until one day an open

[2] *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Tragedies,* ed. Thomas Marc Parrott, p. 632.

[3] *Les Recherches de la France,* Chapter IX, p. 472 "pour enseigner tous les Iuges de n'accomoder leurs volontez en iugeant, aux volontez extraordinaires des Roys leurs Maistres." Cf. Appendix C.

break came and the King threatened to place him in the hands of the Judges. Chabot, not realizing his danger, and only conscious of his own right, defied the King to find any breach in his goods, his life, or his honor. This open challenge so displeased the King that he issued a commission against Chabot, and the case was put in charge of Chancellor Poyet. The remarkable thing about the trial was that there was no article by which the crime of felony or treason could be imputed to Chabot. There were only some exactions unduly made by him on some fishers of Normandy under pretext of his admiralty. The judges were therefore inclined to be lenient, but the Chancellor, knowing the King's desire for a condemnation, treated the prisoner rudely and so threatened the Judges that, though the Admiral was not condemned to death, he was convicted and given a heavy sentence.[4] However, in order to show that the judgment was forced, the judges wrote a *V* at the beginning of the verdict and an *I* at the end. The statement of arrest charged Chabot with infidelities, disloyalties, disobedience, oppression, contempt, and ingratitude. Pasquier here is moved to comment upon the latter accusation, as a vice which one naturally abhors but for which one hardly deserves to be brought to trial. The Chancellor had, however, used every means, sneering, rudeness, constraint of judges, and even the invention of a new crime, in order to please the King to whom he had promised "mountains and marvels." But the King who had desired a death sentence so that he might force Chabot to repentance, and so that he himself might afterward show mercy, ordered a pardon. The Admiral in answer only praised God that no real crime of felony and treason had been proved against him. Francis, astonished at such a statement, issued a new commission to investigate, and, upon seeing the procedure and documents which bore ample testimony to the truth of Chabot's answer, he restored Chabot to good fame and repute.

[4] Just what this sentence was in not given in Pasquier.

But Chabot, shocked and embittered by the arrest, did not long survive, and two years later died.

The King then dismissed Anne de Montmorency from his house, although just what he had to do with the affair is not told, and ordered the arrest of the Chancellor for the part he had played in the trial against Chabot. Although there were other charges brought against the Chancellor, the most important was his action in forcing the judges to convict Chabot. Counsellors who had before worked against Chabot now testified against Poyet with the result that Poyet was convicted and given a heavy sentence. He was deprived of his office of Chancellor, made incapable of holding any other royal office, fined 100,000 livres, and condemned to five years' imprisonment in such place, under close guard, as it pleased the King. This, with the restatement of Pasquier's moral,[5] completes the story of Chabot as told in Chapman's source.

If we now examine the play, we find that a very close analogy exists between the action given above and that given by Chapman. We find also that Chapman has expanded the material greatly, and, along with this expansion, has added much that has no place in Pasquier's account.

The play opens with a dialogue between two courtiers of Francis I, of France, discussing the latest court gossip. This centers about the King and two favorites, the old and the new, the rising Constable Montmorency and the falling Admiral Chabot. Allegre, the first courtier, although apparently admiring both, definitely aligns himself on the side of his master, the noble-minded and proud Chabot, while Asall, the second courtier, evidently favors the affable Montmorency, and is skeptical of the sterner virtues of Chabot. They comment on the King's latest negotiations for peace, namely, his desire to reconcile the two rival stars in his firmament. As they converse, the

[5] See Appendix C.

principal figures concerned enter, the King, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and the Chancellor. The King blesses the new peace between his two favorites, and they pledge themselves anew to amity " pure and inviolable."

This reconcilement is hardly concluded, however, before we learn of a conspiracy forming against Chabot by the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, with the connivance of the Admiral's newly pledged friend, Montmorency. Though the latter is reluctant, he is also young, inexperienced, and amiable, and is soon won over to the design by the worldly wisdom and hypocritical policy of the Chancellor. He agrees to their plot, their proposal to sign and to persuade the King to sign a petition to which Chabot has already expressed his aversion. They count on Chabot's refusal to sign such a bill that he may incur the displeasure of the King. Thus they hope to make Montmorency the sole favorite, " the only darling and mediate power of France," and to intrench themselves firmly in the ruling party.

The next scene takes us back to Chabot. His father fears the outcome of the rivalry of the younger favorite, and warns his son of certain ruin.

> I had not come
> So far to trouble you at this time, but that
> I do not like the loud tongues o' the world,
> That say the King has ta'en another favourite,
> The Constable, a gay man, and a great,
> With a huge train of faction too; the Queen,
> Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretary, and
> An army of state warriors, whose discipline
> Is sure, and subtle to confusion.[6]

But Chabot remains faithful to his pledge to the King and Montmorency until a courtier enters bearing the bill for him to sign. At the injustice of this, he breaks out into a rage which passes all bounds of caution and prudence, and, forgetting even the sacred duty to a monarch's name, he tears the bill to pieces.

[6] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* I, ii, 14–22.

The Queen now tries to stir the King to anger against Chabot, who by the tearing of the bill has thwarted the King's desire and insulted his sacred signature. We learn of the Queen's complicity in the plot against Chabot when the Chancellor acknowledges her as the soul of their great work. Yet even under such provocation as his Queen's fiery denunciation of Chabot, and the many whispered insinuations of his ministers, the King calmly holds to belief in his admiral.

The court is agog with curiosity. Allegre reports the general attitude to Chabot's father: the continued faith of the King; Montmorency's belated regret at his connivance in the scheme; the malicious plotting of the Chancellor-faction; and the general unfriendliness of the court toward Chabot. He advises his master to retire from a hopeless situation, but Chabot, now thoroughly roused, refuses to desert a cause which he believes a just one. He defies his enemies, particularly the Chancellor whose vaunted law and learning he despises, and upholds his deed as one of loyalty to the King's justice. His courage and constancy to a path once chosen calls forth the admiration of Montmorency, whose withdrawal from the plot is feared by the Chancellor.

The King, up to this point, still maintains faith in his first favorite, in spite of the malice of the conspirators. Now he remonstrates with Chabot against severity toward Montmorency, questions the possibility of knowing real justice, and pleads for consideration of his own love for Chabot. But the latter proudly and obstinately refuses to relent for the sake of love since justice is at stake. Francis reminds Chabot of the many honors given him as the ruling favorite, and Chabot refuses to admit that his benefits exceed his merits. This rankles with Francis, whose vanity is wounded and whose obstinacy also is now aroused. He is thus goaded on by Chabot's unbending pride and obstinate virtue to a threat of the law, still credulously believing, however,

that Chabot will yet bow to his will. Chabot almost contemptuously defies him, justifies his high-handed opposition on the ground of justice, and still refuses to yield to affection, until in a burst of fury Francis cries out:

> Sing till thou sigh thy soul out; hence, and leave us!

Humiliated and stung by his favorite's defiance, he sends for the Chancellor to whom he entrusts the case of investigating the conduct of his Admiral for possible treasons. Only too eagerly the Chancellor seizes the opportunity. The outcome is inevitable. Deserted by the courtiers at the first sign of royal displeasure, friendless except for those who are without influence at court, and turned over to the tender mercies of the chief of his enemies, Chabot can but expect, as the indubitable conclusion, a verdict of guilty.

Thus by the end of the second act, we have the conspiracy against Chabot, in favor of the affable Montmorency, developing rapidly. The Admiral falls into the trap laid for him by his enemies, and, by his overweening confidence which even becomes insolence, he arouses the anger of the King, who up to this time, had refused to listen to the insinuations of the plotters. And so in an impetuous burst of anger, after an unpleasant interview with the Admiral, the King gives him into the hands of the law, represented by a ring-leader of the conspiracy. Two favorites, their reconcilement, a plot against the older, its rapid development and success through the victim's own pride, sum up the action of the first two acts. They may, however, be summed up even more briefly — the downfall of a first favorite.

Allegre is tortured in order to make him reveal treasons of his master, but his loyalty is not influenced by the rack. Chabot, steadfast in his belief in the King's justice and confident that all is but a test of his own fidelity, is undaunted by the fears of his wife and father. The Queen and Montmorency, stirred by pity

for the wife and admiration for the staunch faith of Chabot, plead with the King for mercy. He confronts them with their former arguments, is unrelenting to their appeals and seems hardened against his former favorite.

So Chabot is brought to trial where he is, as it were, "baited" to judgment by the Proctor-General, who takes advantage of his position to abuse Chabot with the most furious invective. He is charged with ingratitude, pride, splendor, and the cruel exaction of an unlawful tax imposed upon fishermen of Normandy. He is accused of "the improvement of his estate in so few years, from a private gentleman's fortune to a great duke's revenues." The judges are inclined to consider the Proctor's perorations "but a noise of words," but the Chancellor threatens them with the King's anger if they do not give a conviction. So they agree to the sentence of death, though they signify an enforced verdict by the letters *V* and *I* written by the sides of the decision.

The Chancellor in a conference with the King assures him that the condemnation was for "faults most foul" and cites as proof the applause of the people at the judgment. Francis credulously believes the report, and rejoices at the condemnation in order that he may prove his great bounty and mercy in a pardon. Chabot is brought before him, and Francis dramatically grants the pardon, but, instead of showing gratitude for such favor, Chabot refuses it scornfully. Since pardon implies guilt, he will have no pardon. He demands that the proceedings of the trial be shown to the King. When the King discovers the slight ground of accusation upon which Chabot's condemnation rests, his anger vents itself on Poyet, the instrument of the evil. He accuses the judges also, who, however, exonerate themselves through the letters *VI*, denoting enforced conviction. The Advocate, too, is called to account, but promises to redeem himself with as much zeal, as shown against the Admiral, in the prosecution of the Chancellor.

Thus the Chancellor is led off to prison, while the Admiral,

vindicated in the eyes of the King, is freed. And pitted against the Chancellor, employed in the service of the King's justice, are the same three who worked against the Admiral: the Proctor-General, the Treasurer, and the Secretary.

The Chancellor is speedily brought to trial, and the Advocate prosecutes the case with his accustomed fiery zeal and even more rancorous invective. The charge is corruption and unjust action against the Admiral, which occasions a long harangue and much flattery of the King. The Chancellor confesses his guilt and humbly begs mercy of the King, after which the court speedily proceeds to judgment and a severe sentence. He is deprived of his office, made incapable of holding any other judicial post, fined two hundred thousand crowns, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle.

The action would seem to be complete with this: the vindication and restoration of the King's loyal servant and minister, Chabot; and the vengeance for corrupt practices on the unjust and ambitious Chancellor. But Chapman does not end it here. The Admiral falls ill after suffering the ordeal of imprisonment and the King's unkindness. It is thought that the King's presence alone may suffice for his improvement, but though Francis comes and shows him every sign of forgiveness and favor, it is not enough for the Admiral's weakened strength. News comes of the Chancellor's sentence, and the King, in grief at the state of Chabot, would change the sentence to death, but Chabot stays him, as a last boon begs the King's royal mercy on Poyet's life and free

> Remission of all seizure upon his state,[7]

and with the granting of this last merciful request, Chabot dies.

With such obvious analogy between the two actions, further proof that Pasquier was Chapman's source is unnecessary. There

[7] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* V, iii, 195–196.

is no doubt that Pasquier's *Les Recherches* furnished the groundwork of Chapman's *Admiral Chabot.* Chapman has, however, expanded the material so greatly, and has added so much new material, that a large part of the play still remains unaccounted for. There are so many striking and significant differences that it is impossible to believe that Pasquier is the only source used by Chapman.

Briefly the analogy between the play and its source is this: Philip Chabot, who has been greatly honored by the King in titles and powers, incurs the displeasure of Francis, and through haughty and self-confident vaunt of his own merit, is given into the hands of the law. He is brought to trial at which Chancellor Poyet presides, and is convicted through the efforts of the Chancellor, who is courting the King's favor. Since the charges brought against the Admiral were largely of such personal faults as infidelity and ingratitude, and since evidence was lacking, with the very slight exception of an unjust tax upon some Norman fishers, the judges at first demurred against a sentence, but are finally constrained to sign for conviction. They, however, sign the letters *VI* on the decree, denoting an enforced verdict. The King is pleased at the judgment because he sees in it a means of showing his mercy. He consequently summons Chabot and grants him a pardon. But Chabot, instead of thanking him for his bounty, reasserts his innocence. So the King investigates and learns of the slightness of the charge and of the evidence. He therefore restores Chabot and arrests Poyet. The latter is now tried, accused of unjust use of his office against Chabot, is convicted, and heavily sentenced. He is deprived of his office, made incapable of holding further office, is fined and imprisoned. Chabot, although now thoroughly vindicated, does not recover from the shock of his trial and later dies.

With the two actions and the outline of the analogy thus set before us, the differences loom up clearly. The most noticeable

departures from the source are the enlargement of almost every incident in Chapman's account, the completion in Chapman of the mere skeleton sketches of character supplied by Pasquier, and the addition of new incidents and characters not mentioned in the source.

The first act in the play is almost entirely an addition, in which we have: a long defense of Chabot; the development of the rivalry between a rising and a falling favorite; an attempted reconciliation between these favorites on the part of the King; and its failure due to a plot against him by Chabot's enemies.[8] The conspiracy to undermine Chabot as King's favorite and to replace him with one more pliant has no place in Pasquier. He attributes Chabot's fall to a mere whim, instead of to a plot. "Le Roy ne croyoit qu'en luy seul; entre ceux qui auoient son oreille. Toutes fois comme les opinions des Roys se changent sans sçauoir quelques-fois pourquoy, aussi commença-il avecques le temps de se lasser de luy, & en fin il luy despleut tout à fait."[9] The only person mentioned in Pasquier as leagued against Chabot is Chancellor Poyet. In Chapman we have a faction of enemies made up not only of the Chancellor, but also of the Queen, Montmorency,[10] the Treasurer, and the Secretary. So, although we have in Chapman's play the same haughty retort to the King which hastened Chabot's fall that we find in Pasquier, the other circumstances and causes have all been added.

[8] Koeppel calls attention to this difference between Chapman and his source, but makes no attempt to explain it. He says: "Woher die Engländer die Thatsachen dieses Aktes genommen haben, weiss ich nicht: an freie Erfindung ist schwerlich zu denken. Pasquier gibt keine Vorgeschichte, nach ihm ist der launische König seines Günstlings ohne Grund überdrüssig geworden." *Quellen Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's*, p. 53.

[9] Cf. Appendix C.

[10] Although it may be implied in Pasquier that Montmorency was opposed to Chabot, there is no definite statement to this effect. The only evidence for it is in the fact that Montmorency was later dismissed from the house of the King. Pasquier, however, makes no explanation of this.

In the trial scene we have several notable differences, although in main outline the similarity is quite evident. The Proctor-General is a new character, and although the sneers and rudeness of the Chancellor are largely transferred to him, Chapman owes no more than the barest suggestion for this character to his source. The long diatribe against Chabot is also an addition. Pasquier merely furnishes the basis of the charges, though even to these Chapman has added the lengthy accusation against Chabot of his "mighty fortune" and inordinate pride.[11] Chabot's sentence, too, as Chapman gives it, is entirely unhistorical. The reading of the verdict is incomplete in Chapman as it is in Pasquier. But immediately after this incomplete reading, in Chapman's account of the trial, the Chancellor definitely alludes to a death sentence which has no authority either in Pasquier or in French history:

> *Chancellor.* Now, Captain of the guard, secure his person
> Till the King signify
> His pleasure for his death.[12]

As a matter of fact, Chabot was fined 1,500,000 livres, banished for life without hope of recall, and his goods confiscated.[13]

In Poyet's trial also we have a few distinct departures from Pasquier. The use of the same Proctor-General, furnishing as it does such nice irony in his complete reversal of attitude, is an addition, as well as his elaborate and wordy charge of corruption.[14] The principal accusation against Poyet in Pasquier was, as we have already noted, his unjust treatment of Chabot, al-

[11] Koeppel comments on this change and believes the addition to be due to mere rhetorical flourishes on the part of Chapman. "Was er sonst gegen Chabot vorbringt, seine Invektive gegen Chabot's Prachtliebe und Hochmut, halte ich für rhetorische Phrasen, für eine unhistorische Zugabe der englischen Dramatiker." *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

[12] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* III, ii, 236–238.

[13] James Bacon, *Life and Times of Francis the First,* II, p. 258.

[14] This is striking because of the repetition of the word "corruption" nine times within seventeen lines. *The Tragedy of Chabot,* V, ii, 22–39.

though there is mere mention of other charges. The sentences of Poyet in the two accounts are practically the same, with one slight change. Instead of a judgment of perpetual imprisonment which we find in Chapman, Pasquier tells of an imprisonment of only five years. In Chapman, Poyet confesses and humbly begs for the King's mercy, although in the French source there is no mention of such confession.

Other slight differences in Chapman's action are to be noticed in Chabot's haughty refusal of a pardon; in the belief that Chabot's hope of recovery after his vindication lay in the King's power; and in the pathetic last scene which portrays the death of the grief-stricken Admiral.

However, aside from the differences in the plot as developed in the first two acts of Chapman's play, the most striking differences are in the characters. And one of the most pronounced departures in character is in that of Montmorency, who is merely mentioned in Pasquier. Historically, Montmorency, as described by Professor Parrott,[15] "appears to have been a violent, ambitious, and unscrupulous nobleman, and there is little or nothing in the accounts of his life to justify the favorable portrait presented to us in the play." According to Chapman's delineation, we have seen him young instead of approximately the same age as Chabot; gay and carefree instead of unscrupulously intriguing; impulsive rather than coldly calculating; amiable, agreeable, a little prone to too much flexibility, but honorable, honest, and personally charming.[16] Instead of proceeding in the intrigue against

[15] *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Tragedies,* ed. Parrott, p. 639.

[16] Clarissa Coignet, *Francis the First and His Times,* pp. 294-296: "he [Montmorency] was tenacious and persevering rather than impulsive; towards his troops he was a martinet, imperative and inexorably severe . . . no pleading could bend his stubborn will. . . . His attitude toward his inferiors was altogether wanting in dignity and self-respect. . . . Ambitious and greedy, he never had enough honours, posts or money to satisfy himself and his many protégés. . . . Honour was a thing apart from honesty

Chabot, he deserts it after becoming convinced of the honor and uprightness of his opponent. When the King rebukes him for his former attitude, he impetuously admits his error, and continues in his supplications for mercy to the Admiral:

King. Why, you are the chief engine rais'd against him,
And in the world's creed labour most to sink him
That in his fall and absence every beam
May shine on you and only gild your fortune.
Your difference is the ground of his arraignment.
. . . . . .

Montmorency. I would not have
It lie upon my fame that I should be
Mentioned in story his unjust supplanter
For your whole kingdom. I have been abused,
And made believe my suit was just and necessary,
My walks have not been safe, my closet prayers,
But some plot has pursued me by some great ones
Against your noble Admiral; they have frighted
My fancy into my dreams with their close whispers
How to uncement your affections,
And render him the fable and the scorn
Of France.

Queen. Brave Montmorency!

King. Are you serious?

Montmorency. Have I a soul or gratitude to acknowledge
Myself your creature, dignified and honour'd
By your high favours? With an equal truth
I must declare the justice of your Admiral
(In what my thoughts are conscious), and will rather
Give up my claims to birth, title, and offices,
Be thrown from your warm smile, the top and crown
Of subjects' happiness, than be brib'd with all
Their glories to the guilt of Chabot's ruin.

King. Come, come; you overact this passion,
And if it be not policy, it tastes
Too green, and wants some counsel to mature it;
His fall prepares your triumph.

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in those days, and Montmorency was the most dishonest man of the Government."

Montmorency. It confirms
My shame alive, and, buried, will corrupt
My very dust, make our house-genius groan,
And fright the honest marble from my ashes.
His fall prepare my triumph! Turn me first
A naked exile to the world.[17]

On this point, namely, the change in attitude toward Chabot, Professor Parrott remarks, "The friendly spirit displayed by Montmorency in these lines, and the regret he feels for the false position in which court intrigues have placed him, is, of course, quite unhistorical."[18] Moreover, the historical Montmorency fell from power whereas in Chapman, instead of being dismissed and disgraced, he remains to the end of the play in high favor with the King.[19]

[17] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* IV, i, 36–76.

[18] Parrott, *op. cit.,* p. 643.

[19] The reasons for his fall are very imperfectly known. Pasquier gives none at all but merely mentions the fact that Montmorency was dismissed from the King's household. However, from the very fact that it is mentioned at all, it might be implied that there is some connection with the fall of Chabot. James Bacon in his account of it makes a difference between the stated and the real reason for the Constable's fall, but in no way connects it with Chabot. "Montmorenci's disgrace was attributed to the disappointment which had ensued on Charles' breaking the promise he had made when he visited France, and the Constable was blamed for having advised the king not to insist on a written engagement from him respecting the Milanese, but to rest satisfied with his verbal promise. . . . A much more probable cause presents itself in the animosity of the duchess d'Etampes against the Constable, and in the mischievous power which she now exercised over Francis" (James Bacon, *op. cit.,* II, p. 254). Jean de Serres in his *History of France,* translated into English by Grimeston, and used by Chapman in *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron,* in a brief statement gives the same reason for Montmorency's fall as the first one cited by Bacon: "But seeing themselves abandoned by the King they sought and found mercy, upon certain conditions which hee presented them. And the Constable, who (relying upon the word of such a Prince as the Emperour) had given the King assurance, was for this cause in disgrace with his Maiesty, and retyred himself from Court to his house" (Jean de Serres, *History of France.* Trans. by Grimeston [1611], p. 666). However, the cause of Montmorency's fall, whatever its reason, and whether or not connected at all with the fall of Chabot, is not important to us here, since Chapman does not use it in his drama.

Besides this difference between Chapman and his source in the character of Montmorency and his part in the action concerning Chabot, there is also a change in the character of the King. There is no intimation in the drama that Francis was weary of Chabot and broke with him as the result of a mere whim. Instead we find the break coming as a result of a conspiracy and the unbending pride and too strict justice of the Admiral. In place of a long discussion of court factions and intrigue against Chabot, we have in Pasquier one sentence which lays all the blame upon a fickle monarch. Apparently in Chapman then we have an attempt to remove this stigma of instability from the King and instead to place the blame upon the malicious and intriguing cabal of nobles leagued against the favorite. For in the drama even after the Admiral's insult to the signature of the King, the latter remains faithful to his Admiral. Not even the fiery malice of the Queen can move him to anger. It is only when he is hurt by the defiance of Chabot himself that he grows angry and in a moment of impulsive rage gives his favorite over to the law.

The whole last act in which Chapman prolongs a situation in order to increase the pathos of Chabot's grief-stricken condition offers another striking departure from the source. Again, all that the source contributes on this subject is condensed into one sentence: "Les coup toutesfois du premier arrest l'vlcera de telle façon qu'il ne suruesquit pas longuement." [20] Actually Chabot was pardoned in March, 1541, and died in June, 1543, two years later, whereas Chapman has increased the pathos by moving the date forward so that he presents the death scene as though it followed immediately. Although in one way this is dramatically justified, by intensifying an emotion, in another it is an offence against dramatic structure. For the drama properly ends with the vindication of Chabot and the punishment of his enemy,

[20] Cf. Appendix C.

and any explanation of such undue prolongation must be found in something aside from its dramatic fitness.

Besides expanding and changing the action and characters found in his source, Chapman adds several characters in his account: the faithful servant, Allegre, who is put to the rack for his master's sake; the Father, who serves as a foil for the character of Chabot, as the mouthpiece of his honor and integrity, and as one of the strongest elements of pathetic appeal; the Wife, who with the Father intensifies the pathos of the Admiral's position; the Secretary and the Treasurer, who strengthen the faction of Chabot's enemies; the Proctor-General, who helps to link the trials of Chabot and Poyet together; and the Queen, who by completely changing her attitude becomes one of the best witnesses for the uprightness of Chabot's character.[21]

Chapman's method in using his sources is amply illustrated here: his freedom in adaptation on the one hand, and his surprisingly close reproduction on the other. It leaves no doubt, therefore, of the use of Pasquier's *Les Recherches,* and yet leaves room for speculation about the additions. Was this source supplemented by another French historical account of the same situation, or may there be some other explanation? It seems improbable that these variations can be accounted for on dramatic

[21] Koeppel discusses some of these additions, and attempts to account for them: "Merkwürdiger ist die Veränderung, welche die Engländer mit der für Chabot eintretenden Frau vorgenommen haben. Pasquier hat diesen weiblichen Einfluss totgeschwiegen; die Historiker melden übereinstimmend, dass die Geliebte des Königs, die Duchesse d'Etampes, ihre einflussreiche Stimme zu Gunsten des Admirals erhob; im Drama ist es die Königen selbst, die sich aus Chabot's Feindin in seine Verteidigerin verwandelt. Ich möchte diesen Personenwechsel Chapman zuschreiben — er, den die Geliebte eines anderen französischen Königs bereits einmal in unangenehmen Konflikt mit dem Censor gebracht hatte, mochte wohl nichts mehr mit diesen gefährlichen Damen zu thun haben.

"Die Handlungen und Reden der beiden Gestalten, welchen die Umstimmung der Königen und der Konnetabels gelingt, der Gattin Chabot's und ihres Vaters, haben die englishen Dichter vermutlich ganz in ihrer eigenen Phantasie gefunden" (Koeppel, *op. cit.,* p. 61).

grounds. For Chapman the moral philosopher does not present a dramatic situation for its own sake. In fact, he sometimes through the introduction of changes weakens a situation which was already powerful in his source. The changes which he introduces are not the result of the exigency of plot construction but are made to enforce a moral. They are rarely inventions in matter but are rather moral interpretations. Chapman proves himself to be more ingenious in the moral application of his material than original in the invention of the material itself.[22] We can, then, hardly dismiss the changes found here as dramatic inventions, or as "rhetorical flourishes."

Chabot, according to Professor Parrott, "became in Chapman's transforming imagination the embodiment of the two noblest virtues of the individual considered as a member of the state organism, loyalty and the love of justice." The action of the play all centers about the injustice endured and suffered by a righteous and a noble soul. Why, then, is the cause of the injustice changed from the whim of a monarch to a conspiracy? And why is the character of the historical Montmorency changed from an unscrupulous intriguer to an affable and honest young man? Neither of these changes increases the suffering or intensifies the injustice, but seems only to shift the blame from King and favorite to the conspirators. Why should the blame be shifted? Why does the Proctor-General deliver the accusation instead of the Chancellor as in the source? Since the tragedy of Chabot's suffering lies in the mere act of condemnation, why does the judgment of Chabot become a death sentence? Why introduce a Queen whose presence seems in no way to add to the tragic feeling? Why extend a drama already structurally com-

[22] For a discussion of this in Chapman see Schoell, *Études sur l'Humanisme Continental en Angleterre*, pp. 33–40. "Mais, habituellement, il fait un sérieux effort d'originalité, et, au lieu de puiser dans Conti des allégories toutes faites, il n'y puise que la matière à allégorie morale," p. 35,

plete to linger over the death of Chabot merely mentioned in Pasquier? Why, we might even ask, did Chapman choose this particular action from the many interesting situations in French history? That he was already interested in French history, we have before noticed. That he must have read extensively in it we may suppose, and that he may even have read the 1611 edition of *Les Recherches,* in which was included the story of Chabot, for the purpose of pleasing Prince Henry with another stirring French narrative, we may conjecture. When he read it does not concern us greatly. But when and why he used it are questions of more significance in our present interpretation of Chapman.

That Chapman either knew the French story and was suddenly reminded of it by an English situation at the court of James, or that in reading the story for the first time in the 1621 edition, he was struck by its remarkable analogy to the latest court development, is the solution to one of our problems. French history in *The Tragedy of Chabot* is, I am convinced, but a peg upon which Chapman hung the story of a Stuart intrigue, a mere skeleton which he filled in with a direct appeal to the mercy of James I for the disgraced Earl of Somerset, Chapman's friend and patron.

We know that Chapman had long been personally connected with court life, during the life-time of Prince Henry. We know, then, that he must have been personally acquainted with many of the prominent figures in the Somerset scandal.[23] We know, further, that Chapman was genuinely interested in politics, from the evidence furnished by the Dobell manuscript.[24] We know also that Chapman's acquaintance with the Earl of Somerset was

[23] The Duke of Lennox who proved Chapman's friend in his trouble over the Byron play was also the friend of Somerset. Among the James-Bacon papers, there is one which shows that the Duke of Lennox was used in the examinations of Somerset "to sweeten the cup of medicine."

[24] Cf. Chapter II.

more than casual, and we know that, even after the Earl's disgrace, when other friends deserted him, Chapman remained loyal and convinced of his innocence. Besides all this, we know that Somerset remained in the Tower for years after his conviction. It was not until 1622 that he was given residence outside the Tower, and not until 1624 that James granted him a full pardon. It is easy to imagine Chapman under these conditions, champing and fretting at such injustice to a friend whom he believed noble, high-minded, and guiltless. And it is easy also to conceive the blunt, tactless, honest, and personally embittered Chapman taking this method of striking at those who not only acted prominent parts in this ignoble drama of oppression, but also neglected him in his need.

And last of all, we know that Chapman, whose long life covered those of the moral allegorists, political satirists, and historical chroniclers of Elizabethan fame, often shrouds his meaning in the cloudiest of poetic allegories. Moreover, he believed that true poetry must have a soul, as well as a body, the body being the action, and the soul the allegory, which has as its justification the teaching of virtue.

With a primary interest in politics, personal acquaintance with the great figures at court, sturdy and loyal friendship for Somerset, the central figure in the noisiest scandal of the age, and an inveterate habit of allegory based on a clearly defined allegorical creed, the foundation is all laid for an historical interpretation of *Chabot,* in method, motive, and self-conscious theory. What I claim for *Chabot* is just what Chapman defends as a basis for poetry in general, and tragedy in particular.

In the face of positive statements as to the nature of poetry and drama, it would be strange if there is no truth hidden within the bark of *Chabot;* if there is no moral, doctrinal, or political purpose obscurely concealed within some darkened rind of fiction. It may "by reason of the obscurity" admit "of ambigu-

ous and different construction." It may record "some memorable examples for the use of policy and state." We may find in it a history "enlarged or altered with inventions and dispositions" of Chapman's own "to extend it to his present doctrinal and illustrous purposes"; we will certainly find "not truth, but things like truth," and the recommending of some virture or curing of some vice."

If in applying Chapman's theory of allegory specifically to *The Tragedy of Chabot,* we conclude definitely that French history constitutes its body, we may then ask, What is the soul? It is furnished us, I believe, by English history, in the criminal records and state trials of the day: in the trial and conviction of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and the more famous trial and impeachment of Francis Bacon on a charge of bribery and corruption. And all, of course, is moulded into a universal lesson of justice and mercy, with an individual appeal to James I for the Earl of Somerset's reinstatement in his royal favor. For in the treatment of Chabot, Chapman saw reflected the situation of his patron, the Earl of Somerset; in Chabot's unjust trial and sentence, he saw the fall and disgrace of the man who had assisted him; in the trial and conviction of Poyet, he saw the trial and conviction of Bacon, a deserved punishment for his cruel prosecution of the innocent Somerset; and in such a dramatic appeal to the mercy of James, he saw a means of returning to Somerset a kindness, which in spite of Chapman's present poverty, he still remembered with gratitude.

CHAPTER VI

THE ACTION OF CHAPMAN'S PLAY AND THE STUART SITUATION

THE differences between *Chabot* and *Les Recherches,* which we have enumerated in the last chapter, constitute what might be considered an original contribution of Chapman. Let us now examine the action of the play to see how many of these apparently original features can be explained by their resemblance to political conditions in the court of James.

In Act I, Scene 1, of *The Tragedy of Chabot,* court gossip centers about the fall of an old favorite and the rise of a new one. Asall, a fickle, self-seeking, and inquisitive scandal-monger of the court of Francis I, discusses the subject of general court interest with Allegre, a friend of Chabot, the older favorite:

> Now Philip Chabot, Admiral of France,
> The great and only famous favourite
> To Francis, first of that imperial name,
> Hath found a fresh competitor in glory
> (Duke Montmorency, Constable of France)
> Who drinks as deep as he of the stream royal,
> And may in little time convert the strength
> To raise his spring, and blow the other's fall.[1]

Turning to English history between the years 1614 and 1616, from the first appearance of George Villiers to the final disgrace of Somerset, we find likewise that the principal topic of conversation at court was the fall of an old favorite and the rise of a new one. "Now began to appeare a glimering of a new favorite, one Mr. George Villiers," and "the king cast a glancing eye towards

[1] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* I, i, 1–8.

him, which was easily perceived by such as observed their prince's humour," [2] says that inimitable purveyor of contemporary gossip, Sir Anthony Weldon. And Archbishop Abbot, a more reliable source of information about the court interest in the juggling of favorites, and one seriously concerned in the conspiracy to supplant Somerset, says, "King James for many insolencies grew weary of Somerset" and "It was now observed, began to cast his eye upon George Villiers." [3] The progress of this rivalry was of such importance that on March 15, 1616–17, Mr. Chamberlain writes to Sir Dudley Carleton, who was then Ambassador to Holland, of the final triumph of the new favorite over the old: "To speak of his advancement by degrees were to lessen the King's love; for titles were heaped upon him; they came rather like showers than drops. For as soon as Somerset declined, he mounted, such is the Court motion! . . . He now reigns sole monarch in the King's affection; everything he doth is admired for the doer's sake. No man dances better, no man runs or jumps better; and, indeed, he jumps higher than ever Englishman did in so short time, — from a private gentleman to a Dukedom." [4]

In Chapman's play, after the general discussion of the court favorites, there follows a long defense of Chabot by Allegre. Asall asks about him:

> If he be virtuous, what is the reason
> That men affect him not? Why is he lost
> To th' general opinion, and become
> Rather their hate than love?
>
> *Allegre.* I wonder you
> Will question it; ask a ground or reason
> Of men bred in this vile, degenerate age!
> The most men are not good and it agrees not
> With impious natures to allow what's honest;
> 'Tis an offence enough to be exalted

[2] Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James,* I, pp. 397–398.
[3] Rushworth, *Historical Collections,* I, p. 456.
[4] Nichols, *The Progresses of James the First,* III, p. 256.

To regal favours; great men are not safe
In their own vice where good men by the hand
Of kings are planted to survey their workings.
What man was ever fix'd i' th' sphere of honour,
And precious to his sovereign, whose actions,
Nay, very soul, was not expos'd to every
Common and base dissection? And not only
That which in Nature hath excuse, and in
Themselves is privileg'd by name of frailty,
But even virtues are made crimes, and doom'd
To th' fate of treason.

Asall. A bad age the while!
I ask your pardon, sir, but thinks your judgment
His love to justice and corruption's hate
Are true and hearty?

Allegre. Judge yourself, by this
One argument, his hearty truth to all;
For in the heart hath anger his wisest seat,
And gainst unjust suits such brave anger fires him
That when they seek to pass his place and power,
(Though mov'd and urg'd by the other minion,
Or by his greatest friends, and even the King
Lead them to his allowance with his hand,
First given in bill assign'd) even then his spirit,
In nature calm as any summer's evening,
Puts up his whole powers like a winter's sea,
His blood boils over, and his heart even cracks
At the injustice, and he tears the bill,
And would do, were he for't to be torn in pieces.

Asall. 'Tis brave, I swear!

Allegre. Nay, it is worth your wonder,
That I must tell you further, there's no needle
In a sun-dial, plac'd upon his steel
In such a tender posture that doth tremble,
The timely dial being held amiss,
And will shake ever till you hold it right,
More tender than himself in anything
That he concludes in justice for the state:
For, as a fever held him, he will shake
When he is signing any things of weight,
Lest human frailty should misguide his justice.

Asall. You have declared him a most noble justicer.

Allegre. He truly weighs and feels, sir, what a charge
The subjects' living are (being even their lives

Laid on the hand of power), which abus'd,
Though seen blood flow not from the justice seat,
'Tis in true sense as grievous and horrid.

Asall. It argues nothing less; but since your lord
Is diversely reported for his parts,
What's your true censure of his general worth,
Virtue, and judgment?

Allegre. As of a picture wrought to optic reason,
That to all passers-by seems, as they move,
Now woman, now a monster, now a devil,
And till you stand and in a right line view it,
You cannot well judge what the main form is:
So men, that view him but in vulgar passes,
Casting but lateral or partial glances
At what he is, suppose him weak, unjust,
Bloody, and monstrous; but stand free and fast
And judge him by no more than what you know
Ingenuously and by the right laid line
Of truth, he truly will all styles deserve
Of wise, just, good; a man, both soul and nerve.[5]

This long defense of seventy-two lines is not in the source, and cannot be explained on the ground of dramatic necessity. It is true that it lays the ground-work for the character of the central dramatic figure. But such an elaborate and lengthy eulogy cannot be explained by that alone. It is manifestly a defense against an extreme attitude of antagonism, yet such was not the feeling of the French court toward Chabot. Why then introduce such a defense here? It seems to me obvious that it is because the Earl of Somerset was held in just such contempt by the court and populace of London; because Chapman felt this antagonism toward his patron to be unjust and contemptible; and because Chapman wished through the Chabot analogy to attract the attention of James I to the noble qualities and undeserved sufferings of the Earl of Somerset, in order to reinstate the latter in the good graces of the King.

Allegre's attitude toward Chabot in this passage is identical with Chapman's own toward Somerset, as expressed in his dedi-

[5] *The Tragedy of Chabot, Admiral of France,* I, i, 11–80.

cations to that Earl after his fall. Allegre attributes the contempt felt toward Chabot to the vile degenerate age which, because most men are evil, will not allow what is honest; to the jealousy which evil men feel for a good man advanced to regal favor; and to Chabot's rigid and discriminating sense of justice toward the King and his subjects which worked hardship on self-seekers. Such hatred of the multitude is but too frequent in Chapman's poems and dedications: "The profane multitude I hate";[6] "the rotten spawn of earth";[7]

> This scornful, this despised, inverted world,
> Whose head is fury-like with adders curl'd
> And all her bulk a poison'd porcupine,
> Her stings and quills darting at worths divine.[8]

In his ill-fated poem on Somerset's marriage, Chapman vents his spleen on the multitude which pursued the Earl at that time:

> The poison'd murmurs of the multitude
> Rise more, the more desert or power obtrude.[9]

And in his dedication to the Earl written after the Overbury trial, Chapman explains the malice of the mob, of the "never-numbered odds of enemy," by the statement that they were "arm'd all by envy."[10] So Allegre reasons that Chabot's foes hate him because of their jealousy of the affection and favor which the King lavished upon him. In the dedication of 1622 to the Earl,[11] Chapman calls upon God to do justice to the worth of the Earl, since "The world still in such impious error strays."

More than this, the opinion of Allegre is identical, not only with Chapman's but also with that expressed by certain contem-

[6] Dedication to Master Matthew Royden, *Ovid's Banquet of Sense, The Works of George Chapman: Poems and Minor Translations,* p. 21.

[7] Appendix to *Achilles Shield,* To M. Harriots, *Ibid.,* p. 54.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Andromeda Liberata, ibid.,* p. 189.

[10] Epistle Dedicatory to *Hymns of Homer,* To the Earl of Somerset, *ibid.,* p. 251.

[11] Epistle Dedicatory to *Pro Vere, Autumni Lachrymae, ibid.,* p. 247.

porary historians. On the one hand there is adverse opinion, on the other, defense.[12] Such malicious enemies of Somerset as Osborne the Puritan see nothing in Carr to fascinate the King but feminine beauty of face and figure, and nothing in the association of Carr with the King but a sinful revel in pleasure and a riotous waste of England's wealth.[13] Such partisans of Somerset's enemies as Roger Coke, grandson of Sir Edward, accuse Carr of "Intollerable Pride and Covetousness," and of power used only to extort large sums of money from supplicants to the King's favor.[14] The anonymous author of *The Narrative History of King James* [15] makes much of his greed and covetousness, which

[12] The same extreme divergence of opinion on this subject is expressed by such recent writers as William Roughead in *The Fatal Countess,* who like Roger Coke and Osborne think Somerset guilty, and Judge Parry in *The Overbury Mystery,* who defends the Earl, as did Sir Anthony Weldon and Bishop Goodman.

[13] Osborne, *Traditionall Memoyres,* I, pp. 274–275.

[14] Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England,* pp. 46–48.

[15] Somers, *Tracts,* II, p. 299. "At home in his office he used extraordinary covetousness and parsimony, he thereby heaped up to himself great store of money, and would not undertake any enterprise, without he was well rewarded for his pains, and every new occasion and occurrence that came to his hands brought him also a fleece of money: offices in court that lay in his gift he bestowed not without money, the kings letters were not purchased without money, no pardon obtained without money, so that he was as great a bribe-taker, as his mother the Countess of Suff, and many rumours and hard reports were spread on him for the same; yet nevertheless he stil continued his favor in despight (as a man might say) of his opposites, even unto the greatest dignity, which caused him to be as proud as covetous, and to commit as many insolencies as he had received sweet bribes; he thought it no matter to lean on the king's cushion, in publique, to check some of the nobility, and amongst the rest to make a flat breach with my Lord of Canterbury, a grave and reverend gentleman, one of the pillars of this kingdome, and that could discerne the follies of that young man: thus admiring of his owne worth hee works his own subversion, and by these insolencies plucking more evills upon his head, and daily adding more enemies to those that before he had deserved.

"These things laying him open to the envy of the greatest, and Sir George Villiers seeing his exceeding covetousness, having now the ears of the king, would oftentimes cross his expectations, as it is credibly

seems to be the only ground for grievance, coupled with his personal beauty, prior to the time of the Essex scandal. After that time, particularly after the trial for Overbury's murder, he becomes in the eye of all London a monster — not only of ingratitude to James and to his former friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, but also of the most horrible treachery and crime. So Allegre in the play says of Chabot:

> As of a picture wrought to optic reason,
> That to all passers-by seems, as they move,
> Now woman, now a monster, now a devil,
> . . . . . .
> So men, that view him but in vulgar passes,
> Casting but lateral or partial glances
> At what he is, suppose him weak, unjust,
> Bloody, and monstrous. . . .[16]

On the other hand, in line with Allegre's defense of Chabot, and Chapman's of the Earl, we have those historians who defend Somerset. Even the last named, the writer of the anonymous tract, agrees with Allegre that envy accounts for the enmity felt toward Carr: "... his revenues were enlarged, and his glory so resplendent, that he drowned the dignity of the best of the nobility, and the eminency of such as were much more excellent, by which means envy (the common companion of greatness) procures him much discontent."[17]

Two men of as opposite natures as Sir Anthony Weldon, malicious and merciless toward almost everyone associated with the

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reported, and deceived him of many a bribe which hee hoped for, doing those things voluntarily and for thanks, which my Lord would not do without much money. These courses laid him open to the contempt of the vulgar also, and now all men according to their custome began to exclaim of his great extortion: Thus we may see visible signs of his fall."

[16] *The Tragedy of Chabot*, I, i, 68–75.

[17] *The Narrative History of King James, for the first Fourteen Years*, Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 268. Lord Clarendon also comments upon the opposition to Somerset caused by envy: "There were enough in the court angry and incensed against Somerset, for being what themselves desired to be" (I, p. 15).

court of James I, and Bishop Goodman, described as " ingenuous, unostentatious, unsuspicious," agree in defending Somerset from such attacks as have been quoted above. Weldon exonerates Somerset from the charge of unjust extortion of money: " Somerset and that faction bear all down before them, disposing of all offices, (yet Somerset never turned out any as did the succeeding favourite) but places being void, he disposed of them, and who would give most was the word; yet not by Somerset himselfe, but by his lady and her family, for he was naturally of a noble disposition, and it may be justly said of him, that never could be said of any before, or ever will be of any after him; — he never got suit for himselfe or friends that was burdensome to the common-wealth — no monopolies, no impositions. . . ." [18]

Bishop Goodman emphatically denies the same accusation: " Whatever else may have been his crimes, Somerset was not guilty of grasping after money." [19] He furthermore praises his wisdom and diligence in performing the offices of first favorite: " Now for the favorite Sir Robert Carr: truly he was a wise, discreet gentleman; as Sir Robert Cotton, the great antiquary, told me, he did very often send unto him for precedents, when as things were to be done in the State which he doubted whether they were lawful and expedient, and therefore did desire to have the example of former times for his warrant." [20] Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter already quoted from, also testifies to Carr's generosity in money matters.

Lingard makes a significant statement on the matter of Somerset's use of his power, and his jealous guarding of the King's interests. He says: " It is but justice to Somerset, to add what he says of his own services in a petition to Charles: that during the

[18] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 394.

[19] Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, I, p. 258, note.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 215. See also D'Ewes, *The Autobiography and Correspondence*, I, pp. 81–82.

three years he was in power, he opposed all suits for honours and reversions of offices, lest the king and his successors should have nothing left to give in reward to their servants; that he found a resolution taken after the death of Salisbury, to disafforest all the royal parks and forests, and to sell all the crown lands, reserving only an increase of rent; this also he prevented; that he never would receive of the king any gift of crown lands, or customs; and whatever he did receive, was such as either took nothing from the king or brought with it an increase to the revenue; and that he made himself many enemies by opposing both the suitors and the ministers for the advantage of the crown." [21]

If we turn again to Allegre's elaborate defense of Chabot for comparison, we find the same defense on the grounds of his sense of justice to the state, and to "the subjects' livings," with the rhetorical conclusion,

> And judge him by no more than what you know
> Ingenuously and by the right laid line
> Of truth, he truly will all styles deserve
> Of wise, just, good; a man, both soul and nerve.[22]

With such striking agreement between Chapman's opinion of Somerset and that of contemporary historians, and with such remarkable similarity between this opinion and that expressed by Allegre on Chabot, the inference is certainly not improbable that Chapman is consciously using an analogy between the French and English situations, and what is more, increasing their similarity to suit his purpose.

Proceeding with the examination of the play, we find the courtiers, Allegre and Asall, discussing the King's attempted reconcilement of the rivals for his favor. Immediately afterward, the rivals meet in the presence of the King and swear eternal amity, which, says Chabot, addressing the King,

[21] Lingard, *History of England,* IX, p. 120, note.
[22] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* I, i, 77–80.

> [I] resolve to keep
> Pure and inviolable, needing none
> To encourage or confirm it but my own
> Love and allegiance to your sacred counsel.

In taking such an oath, Chabot does not realize the forces working against him. The Chancellor, with other enemies of the Admiral, lays a plot by which the recent pledge of friendship may be broken and the blame laid upon Chabot. Poyet makes the scheme clear to Montmorency, who by it is to be left the King's sole favorite:

> Our counsels
> Have led you thus far to your reconcilement,
> And must remember you to observe the end
> At which, in plain, I told you then we aim'd at:
> You know we all urg'd the atonement, rather
> To enforce the broader difference between you
> Than to conclude your friendship; which wise men
> Know to be fashionable and privileg'd policy,
> And will succeed betwixt you and the Admiral,
> As sure as fate, if you please to get sign'd
> A suit now to the King with all our hands,
> Which will so much increase his precise justice
> That, weighing not circumstances of politic state,
> He will instantly oppose it and complain
> And urge in passion what the King will sooner
> Punish than yield to; and so render you,
> In the King's frown on him, the only darling
> And mediate power of France.[23]

Montmorency at first demurs, but, persuaded by the oily hypocrisy of the Chancellor and his supporters, the Treasurer and the Secretary, he is convinced that

> Two stars so lucid cannot shine at once
> In such a firmament.[24]

and so agrees to their plot. This succeeds only too well. The honorable Chabot is insulted by such an unjust proposition as the bill which is handed him to sign, and tears it to pieces. The

[23] *Ibid.*, I, i, 160–176.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, i, 224–225.

Secretary immediately reports this to the King, and the Queen urges him to enforce extreme punishment, representing the deed as an act of a traitor who is just waiting the opportunity to seize complete power and to tear off the King's crown. The Chancellor and the Treasurer confer with the Queen:

Chancellor. Madam, you are the soul of our great work.

Queen. I'll follow, and employ my powers upon him.

Treasurer. We are confident you will prevail at last,
And for the pious work oblige the King to you.

Chancellor. And us your humblest creatures.

Queen. Press no further.[25]

Thus we see in the play a reconcilement between rising and declining favorites, immediately followed by its violation, due to the machinations of a faction of enemies made up of the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and most important of all, the Queen. Such attempted reconcilement and failure cannot be explained by the source of the play where there is no mention of it, but is to be accounted for by the rivalry in the English court between Somerset and Villiers. James, true to his vaunted title "Rex Pacificus," was anxious to make peace between the two favorites and so stop the clashing between their respective factions. But, according to the most complete account of this as given by Weldon,[26] he succeeded only in widening the breach, the same result as in the attempted peace in the play. But of even more significance than this, we find that in the English situation the fall of Somerset was directly due to a clique of enemies banded together for the purpose of supplanting him. Scott tells that "Villiers was brought into the king's eye and favour by a cabal of the English nobles, who wished to supplant Somerset. The plan according to Heylin was laid at a great

[25] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* II, i, 49–54.
[26] Cf. Chapter IV of this book.

but private entertainment at Baynard's Castle, by the families of Herbert, Hertford and Bedford. In passing toward the place of meeting, one of the party caused a footman to throw a handful of dirt at Somerset's picture which was hung out on a painter's stall in Fleet street. This was a sort of public defiance of the late favourite." [27] Harris states the reason for his fall very briefly: "Every man endeavored to raise the one and pull down the other." [28]

Furthermore, English history proves that enrolled in the faction of enemies leagued against Somerset were George Villiers, the rival favorite, Lord Chancellor Bacon, Treasurer Montagu, Secretary Winwood, and Queen Anne. That Villiers took part in the fall of Somerset is very definitely proved by the correspondence between Bacon and Villiers at the time of the trial.[29] That Bacon, who was Lord Chancellor just previous to the time of the writing of the play, took a very active part against Somerset is evidenced by the many papers and letters which passed between Bacon and the King, and Bacon and Villiers, as well as by the account of the trial itself where he made the long speech of accusation against Somerset. That the Treasurer was also leagued against Somerset we know by the fact that Sir Henry Montagu, who was Treasurer when the play was written, acted as Sergeant at the trial, and there delivered one of the most important charges which implicated Somerset in the actual poisoning of Overbury.[30] That the Secretary, Sir Ralph Winwood, was one of the faction against Somerset is attested by his action at the very beginning of the trouble when he carried the rumor of the murder to the King and first implicated the

[27] Somers, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 298–299, note. See also *Aulicus Coquinariae*, pp. 261–262.

[28] Harris, *An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I*, p. 205.

[29] See Chapter IV of this book.

[30] *Ibid.*

Somersets in it.[31] And that the Queen was an important ally to the cabal of nobles who set out to supplant Somerset is proved by Archbishop Abbot, who tells how he persuaded Queen Anne to join her efforts to theirs; [32] by Sir George More, who was of the opinion that the Queen had always regarded Somerset "with a very inauspicious eye"; [33] and by Birch, who plainly asserts that "Whatever were the reasons, she put herself at the head of the faction against him, which, upon the discovery of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, proved his ruin." [34]

We have then an identical analogy between the underlying cause of the fall of Chabot, as given by Chapman, and that of Somerset, in English history; namely, a faction of enemies made up of the rival favorite, the Queen, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. Moreover, this identity is not to be found between the French source and the play since in Pasquier the fall of Chabot is attributed, not to a deep-laid plot, but to a monarch's whim. There is in Chapman's source no account of rivalry between favorites, no attempted reconcilement between them on the King's part, no conspiracy against the older favorite which causes his fall, no mention of Queen, Treasurer, or Secretary. Yet all these are important factors in the historical accounts of the fall of the Earl of Somerset. There is, then, a greater similarity between Chapman's opening situations and English politics, than between Chapman and his French source, which seems to me to warrant a very definite conclusion.

We have seen that the King, who, after taking Villiers into favor, continued to smile upon Somerset, at first remonstrated and pleaded with him; but that at last exasperated beyond measure by the pride of Somerset, and stung into obstinacy by

[31] See Chapter IV of this book.

[32] Rushworth, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 456–457.

[33] Kempe, *The Losely Manuscripts and Other Rare Documents*, p. 391.

[34] Birch, *The Lives and Characters of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*, "Queen Anne," p. 56

Somerset's repeated refusals to sponsor a new favorite, he turned entirely to Villiers, and lent a ready ear to the Overbury scandal.[35]

So Francis in the drama seems "to smile at all their grim complaints"[36] about Chabot, and even defends him against the attacks of the Queen and his ministers. He remonstrates with Chabot against the severity of the latter toward Montmorency, grows obstinate, much in the manner of the Scottish James, and finally, when Chabot proudly insists that his merits equal his honors, he bursts into a towering rage of wounded vanity, so like that of James that only one conclusion seems possible. Now comes the chance of those foes all "lodg'd in ambush."[37] The King in his anger sends for the Chancellor, as James upon learning the rumor about Overbury sent for his Chief Justice,[38] and charges him to employ his "most exact and curious art" to hunt out some treason against Chabot, though he is careful to add: "I must have all proved with that free justice." When we remember that one of James' vaunted titles was "The Just," this remark has an added significance.

[35] See Chapter IV.

[36] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* II, ii, 3.

[37] *Ibid.,* II, ii, 51. This whole passage (II, ii, 50–64) is notable, particularly when we recall the Epistle Dedicatory to *The Hymns of Homer,* addressed to the Earl of Somerset. There

> "never-numbered odds of enemy,
> Arm'd all by envy, in blind ambush lie,
> To rush out like an open threatening sky."

Although it is characteristic of Chapman to repeat striking figures, yet his use of it in an address to the Earl, and its use here in a drama based upon such a straking analogy to the fortunes of the Earl seem to me to be at least worthy of note. (Cf. Chapter III.)

[38] Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England,* p. 49. "When Sir Ralph [Winwood] came to Royston, and acquainted the King, with what he discovered about Sir Thomas Overbury's Murder, the King was so surprized herewith that he posted away a Messenger to Sir Edward Coke to apprehend the Earl; I speak this with Confidence, because I had it from one of Sir Edward's Sons."

The Chancellor's investigations apparently succeed. Chabot is arrested. His servant, Allegre, is put to the rack, but remains loyal to his master. The father and wife of Chabot plead for him so that even the Queen melts in pity. Montmorency also, in admiration for the constancy and strength of the Admiral, shifts ground.

Queen. I thought your judgment
Against the Admiral. Do you think him honest?

Montmorency. Religiously; a true, most zealous patriot,
And worth all royal favour.

Queen. You amaze me.
Can you be just yourself then, and advance
Your powers against him?

Montmorency. Such a will be far
From Montmorency. Pioneers of state
Have left no art to gain me to their faction,
And 'tis my misery to be plac'd in such
A sphere, where I am whirl'd by violence
Of a fierce raging motion, and not what
My own will would incline me.[39]

Despite this change in two of Chabot's persecutors, the action against him proceeds, and he is brought to trial. The crisis of the third act is the court scene in which the trial takes place, and where we have the Proctor-General presiding, a man whose aim is first of all to convict. He denounces the Admiral in a long, prolix, and rancorous address, in which, after flattering the Judges, the Chancellor, and the King, he accuses Chabot of the monstrous crimes of pride, splendor, and ingratitude. Although he pours forth all the odious invective at his command, the Judges remain cool, consider it but "a noise of words," and refuse to condemn. The Chancellor then plays his trump card, and in the name of the "King's free justice" threatens them if they do not make the offence capital. Thus constrained, they sign, but signify their objection by the letters *VI,* which they

[39] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* III, i, 213–224.

write by their signatures. The sentence is then read by a notary, though Chapman follows Pasquier in giving but the first few lines of it. However, the next speech of the Chancellor makes clear that the judgment is death. Shouts are heard from within, showing the applause of the multitude at the fate of their Admiral.

This act with its abundant detail of the court session is, on the whole, in agreement with Chapman's French source. But the agreement, even though striking, is less so than the analogy between the play and the English historical situation. There are three very important differences between the French source and use of it in the drama which may be accounted for by the Somerset affair: the regret which Montmorency feels for the false position he has been led into by the enemies of Chabot; the sentence of Chabot which in the drama is death and in French history was a fine, confiscation of estates, and banishment; and the invective of the Proctor-General against Chabot's love of splendor and great pride. These differences, however, will be considered along with the similarities between this play and English history.

We left off in the English historical account with the King's readiness to listen to the Overbury scandal. Not only did he listen and seem to welcome this opportunity to rid himself of a troublesome favorite, but he pursued every evidence which implicated Somerset, and took every precaution to preclude an acquittal. Every move was directed by James and closely supervised by Bacon. Every effort was made to force a confession from Somerset so that his guilt, therefore, would be sealed. What Coke did not ferret out, Bacon's ingenuity supplied, — and still there was no direct or conclusive evidence imputing any share in the crime to Somerset. Consequently, in order to obtain a conviction on scanty evidence, care was taken that the Countess of Somerset should say nothing at her trial which would exonerate

the Earl;[40] that the Lord High Steward should be a man whom the King and Bacon could control;[41] that the case should progress so as to convince the audience of the King's nice sense of justice;[42] and most important of all, that the Judges should be persuaded of Somerset's guilt early in the case.[43]

In this activity in the actual conduct of the trial, we have a very obvious difference between James in English history and Francis in the drama. But this difference is, I believe, one that is absolutely necessary because of Chapman's purpose. Although King James was so strangely and unaccountably active in procuring the conviction of Somerset, Chapman would hardly be so tactless as to present the King as aiding and abetting Somerset's enemies, if he expected his appeal for Somerset to be of any avail. How could the strange industry of James in the case be made to agree with his insistence upon affection for Somerset, with his title of "The Just," and with his much vaunted mercy? What would be the indubitable effect upon the vanity of James? And what would be the foregone conclusion to Chapman's appeal for Somerset, if he thus touched James in his most vulnerable spot? The reason for such a change is, I believe, only too plain.

Although there may be much the same explanation for the favorable picture of Montmorency, yet there is in this case some justification in historical truth. For although the picture of Montmorency is quite unhistorical, that is, not in any way related to the shadowy figure of Montmorency in Pasquier, nor in any way similar to the cruel, vindictive, and ambitious man of French history, he is nevertheless very close to the dashing and pliable young George Villiers in English history. We know that Villiers was implicated in the activity against Somerset before his trial, with James and Bacon, yet we also know that he was at this time in his career a man who might have acted in just the way Chapman pictures Montmorency. He was affable, courte-

[40] Chapter IV. [41] *Ibid.* [42] *Ibid.* [43] *Ibid.*

ous, generous, rather too easily led, ready to listen to advice, impulsive, and frank. He was in no way malicious or underhanded, and if found in the wrong was always ready to repair it. Besides this truth to the character of Villiers, there is evidence in contemporary letters that it was due to his influence with the King that the Somersets were finally released from the Tower.[44] Furthermore, at the time the play was written, Villiers, now the Duke of Buckingham, was still first favorite to James. A favorable presentation, as in the case of James, was, therefore, necessary to the success of Chapman's appeal.

The case of Somerset was at first given into the hands of Sir Edward Coke, one of the ablest lawyers in the time of James, that is, ablest to force a conviction, willy-nilly. "Now it unfortunately happened," says Spedding, who gives the most unfavorable account of Somerset in the affair, "that when Coke was inclined to believe a thing, very little evidence was enough for him; and that which satisfied him on this occasion could not be expected to satisfy anybody else."[45] Just prior to his engaging upon this commission, Coke had been in the bad graces of the King. Consequently, says Spedding, "To Coke in his present humor anything was evidence which implied accusation."[46] He further says, "It is too lightly assumed that because Coke was the greatest lawyer of his time, the soundness of his legal decisions may be taken for granted: for where a man's temper is not judicial, his learning will supply him with reasons for the wrong conclusion as easily as for the right; and the blindest admirer of Coke's gifts will hardly say that he was gifted with a judicial temper."[47]

[44] See Stratham, *A Jacobean Letter-Writer,* pp. 201–202; also Chapter VII of this book.

[45] Spedding, *An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon,* II, p. 81.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 82.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 182.

There is ample evidence also that the rough side of Coke's tongue was a matter of common gossip in James' time. I have already cited instances of his brutality toward prisoners, in the well-known cases of Essex,[48] Southampton, and Raleigh. It was in the last-named case that Coke outdid himself in vituperation. The record of the trial is but a series of Coke's invectives.[49] It is, therefore, not surprising to find Wilson, a contemporary of Sir Edward Coke, designating him as "a spirit of fiery exhalation, whose activity was only equalled by his subtlety,"[50] and to find Sir Edward Conway writing in 1624 that "He [Coke] would die, if he could not help to ruin a great man once in seven years."

It is hardly remarkable then to find just such a presentation of Coke in the drama of Chapman. In fact, Chapman, the friend of Essex, Southampton, Raleigh, and Somerset, all of whom suffered under the rancor and brutality of the King's Attorney, could scarcely have felt otherwise than bitter toward Coke. Blunt and honest himself, he must have despised the cant and injustice of Coke, and, with his natural bent toward satire, must have seized eagerly upon this opportunity to vent his spleen, which could never remain long pent up. And it is a delicious irony with which he makes the Proctor-General, or Coke, flatter the Chancellor, Bacon, in such unstinted terms. For the enmity and rivalry between Coke and Bacon were of long standing, and well known in James' court. Earlier in their careers they had been supported by two of the most prominent men in Elizabeth's court. "Lord Burleigh," says Johnson,[51] "perseveringly patron-

[48] As Attorney-General, we find Sir Edward Coke taunting the celebrated Earl of Essex at his trial by saying,

"He of this Earldom shall be Robert the last, who of this kingdom thought to be Robert the First."—Amos, *The Great Oyer of Poisoning*, p. 405.

[49] Cf. Osborne, *op. cit.*, Scott's note, p. 169. Somers, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 410–411.

[50] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[51] Johnson, *The Life of Sir Edward Coke*, I, p. 128.

ized Coke in opposition to the great Francis Bacon who had the support of Essex." Robert Cecil followed his father in favoring Coke, so that it was not until Buckingham came upon the scene, after the death of Cecil, and used his influence for Bacon, that the latter was able to surpass his former rival. Not only were they rivals for court preferment, but also for the same lady. In this latter contest for the wealthy Lady Hatton, animosity ran high, and, with the aid of the Cecils, who stood well with the lady's family, Coke won, though it was later much to his sorrow. All of this, of course, although having no direct bearing upon Chapman's play, would have enhanced its value to a Jacobean audience, particularly if it were made up of James' courtiers.[52]

For who among them could have failed to see in the wordy, insulting, and ferocious Proctor-General, their own Chief Justice, Coke,[53] so notorious for just such prolixity, violence, and brutality. And not even the most hypocritical self-seeker of them all could surpass Coke's fulsome flattery. "I shall not need, my Lords," he said at the trial of Raleigh, "to speak anything of the King, nor the beauty and sweetness of his nature; whose thoughts are innocent, whose words are full of wisdom and learning, and whose works are full of honour." [54] Yet this was said of the King who at the time was doing his utmost to procure a sentence of death for one of the greatest men in his kingdom. And at Monson's trial in connection with the Somerset affair, he compares the same King, in the exactness and the mildness of his

[52] For a full account of this rivalry of Coke and Bacon see Johnson, *The Life of Sir Edward Coke,* I.

[53] Although it was Bacon, not Coke, who delivered the actual speech of accusation in the trial of Somerset, Coke was the accuser in each of the trials preceding. Since the connection then was so close, since the irony of his relation to Bacon is much better brought out by having the Proctor-General (or Coke) preside not only at this prosecution, but also at that of the Chancellor (Bacon) later, and since his zeal both for and against the Chancellor (Bacon) and Chabot (Somerset) heightens the satiric effect, the change needs no explanation.

[54] Johnson, *op cit.,* I, p. 157.

justice, to God. Yet the King was at the very moment exerting every effort to ruin the favorite whom he had so recently fondled.

How delicious then to the courtiers of James would have been the irony and satire in that lengthy peroration of the Proctor-General with its fiery denunciation of Chabot, and its flattery of the King and Chancellor, — "our Chancellor, by name Poyet, which deriveth from the Greek his etymology, from *ποιεῖν* which is, to make, to create, to invent matter that was never extant in nature; from whence also is the name and dignity of *Poeta* — which I will not insist upon in this place, although I am confident his Lordship wanteth no faculty in making of verses. But what addition, I say, is it to the honour of this delinquent, that he hath such a judge, a man so learned, so full of equity, so noble, so notable, in the progress of his life so innocent, in the manage of his office so incorrupt, in the passages of state so wise, in affection to his country so religious, in all his services to the King so fortunate and exploring, as envy itself cannot accuse, or malice vitiate, whom all lips will open to commend, but those of Philip, and in their hearts will erect altars and statues, columns and obelisks, pillars and pyramids, to the perpetuity of his name and memory. What shall I say? but conclude for his so great and sacred service, both to our King and kingdom, and for their everlasting benefit, there may everlastingly be left here one of his loins; one of his loins ever remain, I say, and stay upon this Bench, to be the example of all justice, even while the north and south star shall continue."[55] When interrupted by the Chancellor who suggests that he "come presently to the matter" the Proctor-General then makes the accusation. And, strangest crime of all, the Admiral is accused of ingratitude! "And to whom? To no less person than a king. And to what king? His own and our general Sovereign, — *pro Deum atque hominum fidem* — a king and such a king, the health, life, and soul of us

[55] *The Tragedy of Chabot*, III, ii, 9–29.

all, whose very mention draws this salt water from my eyes; for he, indeed, is our eye, who wakes and watches for us when we sleep — and who will not sleep for him? . . . sleep, I take for death, which all know to be *ultima linea.* Who will not sleep eternally for such a king as we enjoy? If, therefore, in general, as he is King of us all, all sharing and dividing the benefits of this our Sovereign, none should be so ingrateful as once to murmur against him, what shall be said of the ingratitude more monstrous in this Chabot? For our Francis hath loved, not in general, and in the crowd with other subjects, but particularly, this Philip; advanced him to the supreme dignity of a statesman, lodged him in his very heart, yet — *monstrum horrendum* — even to this Francis hath Philip been ingrateful. Brutus, the loved son, hath stabbed Caesar with a bodkin. Oh, what brute may be compared to him, and in what particulars may this crime be exemplified? He hath, as we say, chopped logic with the king; nay, to the very teeth of his sovereign, advanced his own gnat-like merits, and justified with Luciferous pride that his services have deserved more than all the bounty of our munificent King hath paid him." [56] But monstrous as this crime of ingratitude is, the Proctor-General sees an even greater outrage in the traitorous and impious act of tearing the King's sacred signature; nay, he has gone further, " this high and more than horrible monster," " this oppressor and this extortioner," he has " under pretext of his due taxation " " imposed a tax upon certain fishermen." " O intolerable exaction! " " I could urge many more particulars of his dangerous, insatiate, and boundless avarice; but the improvement of his estate in so few years, from a private gentleman's fortune to a great duke's revenues, might save our Sovereign therein an orator to enforce and prove faulty, even to giantism against heaven." This even is not enough, but " to foul outrages so violent " to " disloyalties, infidelities, contempts, oppressions,

[56] *Ibid.,* III, ii, 32–65.

extortions," "this unmatchable unjust delinquent affecteth to be thought inculpable and incomparable just"; "he that was never just, will fly in the King's face to be counted just, though for all he be nothing but just a traitor."[57] The Admiral answers "the furious eloquence" of his accuser, who attacks "with more than mortal fury" against his life, in a calm and humble vindication of himself against a charge which after all had "brought forth naught but some ridiculous vermin." But the Proctor is still not satisfied but must pour forth more invective against the Admiral's "great and mighty fortune," his pride, "his braves and bearings to the King," "his vast expenses in buildings, his private bounties, above royal, to soldiers and scholars, that he may be the general and patron and protector of arms and arts"; "his number of domestic attendants," "his glorious wardrobes," his "stable of horses," "his caroches shining with gold."[58] Here then we have Sir Edward Coke, to the life, with his injudicial zeal, his "furious eloquence," and his fulsome flattery, as Chapman, a friend of Somerset, would satirically portray him.

In the Somerset trials, although Coke proceeded with his accustomed energy, it was Bacon who was the directing spirit, even as it is the Chancellor in the drama who really guides affairs at the trial of Chabot. For it was Bacon, on behalf of the King, who saw to it that the Judges were assured beforehand of the guilt of Somerset. In the celebrated Peacham case, on the occasion of scandalously tampering with the Judges, Bacon confessed that he could not skill of scruples in his Majesty's service.[59] Nor did he skill of scruples in the Overbury trials. In one letter concerning Weston's trial, he "most humbly desires, whether the Judges shall proceed in judgment and execution on Monday or no; and if they shall, whether it be not his Majesty's pleasure he shall be executed according to the judgment of the law."[60] In

[57] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* III, ii, 83–116.
[58] *Ibid.,* III, ii, 147–168.
[59] Amos, *op. cit.,* pp. 448–449.
[60] *Ibid.,* p. 378.

another letter, relating to Somerset himself, he writes that he had spent " four or five hours with the Judges whom his Majesty designed to take consideration with the four Judges of the King's bench of the evidence against Somerset." [61]

And is not the picture of the Chancellor, as the Proctor-General gives it, just such a one as a flatterer might have given of Bacon at the time of the Somerset trial, when he was at the height of his power and glory? Is it not possible that the emphasis upon the etymology of his name, tracing it to the word " to make, to create, to invent matter that was never extant in nature," and the statement, " his lordship wanteth no faculty in making of verses," may refer to Bacon's poetical attempts? And was not Bacon one of the most learned men of the time? And was he not, in 1616, generally considered " so full of equity, so noble, so notable, in the progress of his life so innocent, in the manage of his office so incorrupt, in the passages of state so wise, in affection to his country so religious, in all his services to the King so fortunate and exploring, as envy itself cannot accuse, or malice vitiate " ? And, after all, is this not a fine piece of satire both upon the speaker, Coke, who hated Bacon, and upon Bacon, who at the time the play was written had fallen from his pinnacle of greatness?

But what of Somerset in the conduct of his trial? As he had stood firm in his protestations of innocence before the trial, so he remained then. " For my part," he said in his defense, " I protest before God I was neither guilty of, nor privy to, any wrong that Overbury suffered in this kind." [62] He confessed that he was concerned in Overbury's imprisonment, in order that the latter would not impede his marriage to the Countess of Essex. He denied, however, that he had sent any poisoned powders to

[61] Cabala, *sive scrinia sacra, Mysteries of State and Government,* Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Villiers, May 2, 1616, p. 37.

[62] See Chapter III.

the Tower for Overbury, that he had employed any agents to carry out the poisoning, or that he had in any way conferred with the Countess about the crime. His bearing was straightforward and sincere as was Chabot's so that many of the curious, who had swarmed to hear the latest sensation, were forced to respect him. But public sentiment ran all in favor of the sentence, so that the applause which greeted the judgment of Chabot may well have been that after the eleven-hour ordeal of Somerset.

In the Chabot trial, not only do we have truth to the figures of the Somerset trial, but the general conduct and evidence are much the same. Both trials extol the judges for their uprightness, and flatter the King for his justice and mercy; both compare the prisoner's crime to that of Brutus toward Caesar;[63] both emphasize the favors conferred by the King upon the prisoner; both dwell upon the prisoner's ingratitude;[64] both procure conviction on the flimsiest of evidence; and both end in a sentence of death. The latter is probably the most significant similarity, since this is a distinct departure from the French source. Instead of a fine, confiscation of estates, and banishment, the Chancellor here changes the verdict to death, and the judges sign. The reason for such a change, in the light of the analogy between the trials of Somerset and Chabot, seems to me to be obvious: Somerset was sentenced to death.

[63] The manuscript which gives an account of Bacon's speech introduces the ghost of Overbury crying out to Somerset, "Et tu Brute!" This is not to be found in the printed account in the State Trials, however. See Amos, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 and 146.

[64] Sir Randall Crew, at the trial of Somerset makes the following charge: "Was it a friend you only abused in this enterprise? Was Overbury only wronged by your malice? died he the only injured person? No, my Lord; you much wronged, ungratefully regarded the Royal favor of the King, to ground so ill a building upon so strong a basis; for, My Lord, it must needs be, that a presumption of your greatness and power with his Maj^ty^ emboldened you to oppress and tyrannize over a subject. But thanked be God we have no such King as you might imagine; our Eagle will shadow no venomous fly under his wings." *Ibid.*, p. 147.

There is another significant departure of the play from its French source, which I have only mentioned so far. This is the Proctor-General's invective against Chabot's pride and splendor, which is not to be found in Pasquier. We have already noted the accusations, in Sir Roger Coke and the anonymous author[65] of the *Narrative History,* against Somerset's "intollerable pride" and his unjust extortions of money. Consequently the accusations against Chabot's pride, his avarice and extortions, which in a few years improve his estate "from a private gentleman's fortune to a great duke's revenues," are in perfect agreement with those against Somerset. But in addition to pride and covetousness, Chabot is charged with love of splendor, a charge which is in entire keeping with the manner of Somerset's living before his fall. No further evidence of this is needed than the extracts from the inventories of his effects[66] made soon after his arrest, which describe with loving minutia the many gorgeous wardrobes, the jewels which according to Bacon were "the chief part of his moveable value,"[67] elaborate furniture, quantities of gold and silver plate, and, curiously, even the stable of horses, which the Proctor-General dwelt upon. The jewels were given into the charge of Sir Edward Coke, and the horses apparently were presented, by the command of the King, to his various courtiers.[68] Chabot is rebuked also for "his braves and bearings to the King" which recalls a description of Carr's conduct given by James in an expostulatory letter to that favorite.[69] Further-

[65] See note 15 of this chapter.

[66] The warrant for such an inventory was made by Sir Edward Coke, November 19, 1615. For interesting extracts from this inventory see Kempe, *op. cit.,* pp. 408–411.

[67] Bacon to Villiers, May 10, 1616. Quoted in Amos, *op. cit.,* pp. 438–439.

[68] Kempe, *op. cit.,* Inventories of the Earl of Somerset's effects, pp. 406–409.

[69] Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England,* II, James I to the Earl of Somerset, pp. 126–133, quoted in Chapter IV of this book, pp. 45–48.

more, Chabot is admonished for his "private bounties, above royal, to soldiers and scholars, that he may be the general and patron and protector of arms and arts" which also recalls a descriptive comment on Carr, as terse as it is significant. "He was," says Lloyd, "civil to the scholar and liberal to the soldier."[70] And when we add to this statement our knowledge of his rescue of Chapman from the poverty and despair which overwhelmed the latter after the death of Prince Henry, we might extend the liberality to the scholar. The explanation, therefore, of this departure of the play from its French source seems also to lie in the fact that it was true of Somerset.

In Act IV of the play, Montmorency and the Queen join their supplications to those of Chabot's wife and father for the Admiral, but the King denies their prayer. It is soon revealed, however, that Francis rejoices in the sentence in order that he may show his mercy and grant a pardon.

> *King.* I joy
> This boldness is condemn'd, that I may pardon,
> And therein get some ground in his opinion,
> By so much bounty as saves his life. . . .[71]

How like this is to James' pride in his mercy, his love of prearranged effects, and his fondness for last-minute pardons! We have only to examine the accounts of the Raleigh trial to find this amply illustrated. We find it recorded there that some of those condemned were even led to the scaffold where, after suffering the tortures of the damned, James spectacularly pardoned them, and received the "plaudits of the audience, so that no man could cry loud enough, 'God save the King.'"[72]

But Francis is destined to disappointment. The Admiral is

[70] Lloyd's *State Worthies,* II, p. 30. Quoted in Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts,* p. 249.

[71] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* IV, i, 167–170.

[72] David Jardine, *Criminal Trials,* Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. John Chamberlain, pp. 470–476.

ushered into his Majestic presence, and all is effectively arranged. The Treasurer, the Secretary, and those late suppliants for mercy, the Queen, Constable, Wife, and Father, are all present, when the King dramatically grants the pardon, and the expected chorus of amazement and praise bursts forth:

Treasurer. Wonderful, pardon'd!

Wife. Heaven preserve the King!

Queen. Who for this will deserve all time to honour him.

Montmorency. And live kings' best example.

Father. Son, y'are pardon'd
Be sure you look hereafter well about you.[73]

But the expected response from Chabot fails. He refuses a pardon which would be but an admission of guilt.

The King demands an explanation of this startling announcement, and Chabot urges the lack of evidence brought out in the trial against him. Upon this, the King demands to see the process. The situation is now reversed. The Admiral is vindicated; the judges are exonerated; the Advocate is rebuked; and the Chancellor is arrested. His case is given to the Advocate, who, nothing daunted, seizes it zealously:

King. You see my Chancellor.

Advocate. He has an ill look with him.

King. It shall be your province now, on our behalf,
To urge what can in justice be against him;
His riot on our laws and corrupt actions
Will give you scope and field enough.

Advocate. And I
Will play my law prize; never fear it, sir.
He shall be guilty of what you please.[74]

The Admiral is now fully restored to the King's favor, but the anxiety and grief caused by the King's unkindness to him have

[73] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* IV, i, 227–231.
[74] *Ibid.,* IV, i, 395–401.

undermined his health, so that his friends despair of his recovery. They see, however, one hope in the King. Graced with the King's presence, they feel that Chabot may so revive in spirits that his life may be prolonged.

> the greatest souls are thus oft wounded;
> If he vouchsafe his presence, it may quicken
> His fast decaying spirits, and prevent
> The hasty ebb of life.[75]

So the Father goes to the King to persuade him to visit Chabot. The King is at first startled, but is quickly reassured that he can cure all, although the Father, understanding the depth of Chabot's wound, is very doubtful.

> *King.* If this
> Be all, I'll cure him; kings retain
> More balsam in their soul than hurt in anger.
>
> *Father.* Far short, sir; with one breath they uncreate;
> And kings, with only words, more wounds, can make
> Than all their kingdom made in balm can heal;
> 'Tis dangerous to play too wild a descant
> On numerous virtue, though it becomes princes
> To assure their adventures made in everything:
> Goodness confin'd within poor flesh and blood,
> Hath but a queasy and still sickly state;
> A musical hand should only play on her,
> Fluent as air, yet every touch command.[76]

In most of this latter action, Chapman has closely followed his French source; in the satisfaction of the King at the sentence so that he could thus show mercy; in the prisoner's affirmation of his innocence; in the turning of the tables upon the Chancellor, etc. But in the prisoner's refusal of a pardon, in the dwelling upon the Admiral's pitiful condition caused by his sufferings, and in the hope of his friends that the King's presence would save him, Chapman has departed from Pasquier.

The similarity between the attitude of Francis in this action

[75] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* V, i, 8–10.

[76] *Ibid.,* V, i, 86–98.

and that of James can hardly be overemphasized. It is but too evident from the correspondence between James and Bacon that James was anxious to obtain a conviction for Somerset. His many attempts to force a confession of guilt and his precautions taken to prevent any evidence favorable to that Earl can have only one interpretation. Not only did he exert himself to convict Somerset, but he was also careful to leave room for mercy since his very manifest intention was to pardon the Earl after the conviction. Proof of this has already been amply demonstrated, so I shall quote here only one statement from a letter of Bacon to the King, which shows definitely that Bacon modified the prosecution with an express view to a preconcerted pardon. He writes: "It shall be my care so to moderate the manner of charging him, as it might make him not odious beyond the extent of mercy." [77] As to James' reason for doing this, I cannot be so positive. However, a sufficient explanation can be found in James' vanity and pride in himself as a merciful King, even if we can see in such actions no remnant of his former affection for the Earl.[78]

But that James was disappointed in his evident intention, just as was Francis, in the play, we read in the historical accounts. For Somerset refused, as did Chabot, any pardon which was the admission of guilt. He was apparently promised that his life would be spared if he would accept the intercession of a person unnamed, who was in all probability the very person whom he had steadfastly refused to admit to his friendship, namely the young Villiers.[79] At any rate, he refused to do this and answered with a reiteration of his innocence. As he wrote to the King urging the want of evidence, he "fell rather for want of well defending than by the violence or force of any proofs." [80]

[77] *Cabala,* Sir Francis Bacon to the King, April 28, 1616, p. 54.
[78] Such an explanation is to be found in Spedding, *op. cit.,* II, p. 133
[79] *Cabala,* The Earl of Somerset to King James, pp. 221–222.
[80] Somers, *op. cit.,* Somerset to the King, II, p. 305.

Lingard states the Earl's position concisely: "Within a few days," he says, "the countess received a pardon: the same favor was refused by the Earl. He was, he said, an innocent and injured man, and would accept of nothing less than a reversal of the judgment." [81] And because of this refusal he remained in the Tower until after January 19, 1622, when the King granted him permission to move to another place, which however the King designated. We must not confuse this privilege with a pardon, which was not given until 1624, four months before the death of James. In the meantime, the sentence of death still hung over him, as it did over Sir Walter Raleigh for so many years. And there was still the possibility of its execution, as in the case of the unfortunate Raleigh. Consequently, an appeal to the mercy of James such as Chapman here presents in the analogous fate of Chabot is amply motivated. Moreover, the reason for prolonging the situation so as to bring out the pathos of Somerset's fall from the King's favor is not far to seek. And what can be the meaning of that speech of the Father's to the King in which he states the danger of playing "too wild a descant" on virtue unless it is a combined plea and warning to James for clemency? That it was a commonly held opinion that if Somerset could but see the King he would be restored to favor, we have ample evidence in Weldon's record of contemporary gossip: "I have heard it credibly reported, he was told by a wizzard, that could he but come to see the kings face againe, he should be re-invested in his former dearnesse with him. This had been no hard experiment, but belike he had too much religion, to trust to wizzards, or else some friends of his had trusted them, and been deceived by them, that he had little reason to put confidence in them." [82] According to some accounts, he never saw the face of the King again, but according to others, the

[81] Lingard, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 120.
[82] Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 425–426.

King first saw him in the garden of Theobald's not very long before his death, and the opinion was held that had James lived, Somerset would have displaced Buckingham in the King's favor.[83]

It would seem that the play should end with the fourth act in which the Admiral is restored and the Chancellor arrested, in the vindication of Chabot, and the fall of his enemy. But the source tells of the punishment of the Chancellor, which also has a distinct contemporary application, and consequently Chapman uses it. In Act V, Scene 2, we are shown a second court scene, this time the trial of the unjust officer of the King who has so harmed the noble Chabot. Here we find our old friends the Treasurer, the Secretary, and the Advocate, all now against the man who had in the earlier trial directed their efforts against Chabot. And besides these there are many Petitioners who have swarmed to accuse the former Chancellor of divers villainies. Although the Chancellor has already upon his examinations confessed enough, yet to obey form he is brought to trial.

The Advocate proceeds with his accustomed lengthy peroration in which he accuses the prisoner of corruption, and again draws freely upon his copious store of odious epithets. He is reminded by the Treasurer that he must have had a sudden change of heart, since he had so lately extolled the same man for his piety, his faithfulness, and his justice. But the Advocate glibly distinguishes between a judge in and out of the King's favor. "Every judge, your lordships are not ignorant, hath a kind of privilege, while he is in his state, office, and being; although he may, *quoad se,* internally and privately be guilty of bribery of justice, yet, *quoad nos,* and in public, he is an upright and innocent judge . . . but once removed from his place by just dishonor of the King, he is no more a judge, but a common person

[83] Bishop Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Times,* I, p. 23.

whom the law takes hold on, and we are then to forget what he hath been, and without partiality to strip and lay him open to the world, a counterfeit and corrupt judge."[84] And so true to this principle of law-bent-to-power he flays the Chancellor for his injustice to the Admiral, his torture of Allegre, and his sacrilege against the King's justice. But the Chancellor makes no retort, save a humble confession of guilt:

> Again, I confess all, and humbly fly to
> The royal mercy of the King.[85]

And the sentence depriving him of his office, making him incapable of holding any judicial post, condemning him to a fine of two hundred thousand crowns, confiscation of estates, and to perpetual imprisonment is read aloud to the court.

There follows a pathetic scene between the Admiral and his faithful servant, Allegre, who although still weak from the torture, comes to console his master in his sufferings. News comes of the judgment against the Chancellor, and Chabot bursts forth into an extravagant eulogy of his bountiful King.

The King comes to pay his promised visit, and they vie with one another in pouring forth immoderate compliment. They are interrupted in this pleasant pastime by messengers bringing to the King the sentence of the Chancellor. The King, indignant that the sentence is not death, revokes it, and turns to Chabot for judgment upon the man who had so wronged him. But Chabot only begs mercy, and pleads for remission of all seizure upon the Chancellor's estate. The King grants this, but is immediately after grief-stricken by the sudden death of his Admiral. Then he bursts into moralizing.

> In a prince,
> What a swift executioner is a frown!
> Especially of great and noble souls.[86]

[84] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* V, ii, 67–79.
[85] *Ibid.,* V, ii, 150–151.
[86] *Ibid.,* V, iii, 182–184.

Let us then compare these last scenes of the play with Chapman's French source, on the one hand, and with English history, on the other. In the trial scene there is on the whole, agreement with the source, although we have a charge of corruption, the mention of many petitioners, and the Chancellor's confession of guilt in Chapman which are not to be traced to Pasquier. The entire last scene is Chapman's own, and can be traced to nothing in Pasquier except the mere statement that Chabot died two years later. The slight departures in the trial scene, and the invention in the conclusion can, I believe, be explained only on the grounds of the English historical situation.

We have in the case of the emphasis upon corruption, the mention of petitioners, and the humble confession of the prisoner, an agreement with the trial of Bacon, which to Chapman must have appeared like retribution for Bacon's inhuman treatment of Somerset in the murder trial of 1616. Sir Edward Coke for his injudicious zeal in the Overbury trials was reprimanded by the King although very soon after restored to favor.[87] Bacon, on the other hand, was advanced so rapidly that in a period of five years, between 1616 and 1621, he was made Lord Keeper, Lord Chancellor, Baron Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans. His fall, however, came even more rapidly. For in January, 1621, he was created Viscount St. Albans and within five months was sentenced for bribery and corruption. Sir Edward Coke, whom we have already seen in the Advocate, was one of those who were pressed into service against Bacon, as was also Sir Henry Montagu, now Viscount Mandeville and Lord Treasurer. The former pursued the investigation against Bacon, while the latter was one of those after the conviction to take from Bacon the Broad Seal of his office as Lord Chancellor. He was charged with "a collection of corruptions" amounting to twenty-three which had been furnished by many petitioners who were only too eager to swell the

[87] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 261; also Birch, *op. cit.*, "Coke," pp. 65–66.

list of charges against him. To these Bacon, with only slight vindication of himself, acknowledged himself guilty, although he humbly petitioned for mercy. "I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption; and do renounce all defense and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your Lordships."[88] And later in a full and complete submission, he pleads, "My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your Lordship, be merciful to a broken reed."[89] Just as humbly does Chapman's Chancellor plead:

> Hear me, great judges: if you have not lost
> For my sake all your charities, I beseech you
> Let the King know my heart is full of penitence;
> Calm his high-going sea, or in that tempest
> I ruin to eternity.[90]

Despite such humility both are sentenced heavily, and the sentences of Bacon and Chapman's Poyet are the same: both are condemned to pay heavy fines, to lose their offices, to be incapable of again holding judicial office, and to suffer imprisonment.[91] The significance of this exact agreement is doubled when we find that in Pasquier the Chancellor does not confess his guilt and that there is a difference between the sentence of Poyet in Pasquier and that in Chapman, even though it is slight. Poyet in Pasquier was sentenced to imprisonment for five years only; in Chapman he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, as was Bacon.

The last scene is Chapman's invention, since it is to be found neither in Pasquier, nor in English history. Chabot, in Pasquier,

[88] Spedding, *op. cit.*, II, p. 491.
[89] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 501–502.
[90] *Tragedy of Chabot,* V, ii, 153–157.
[91] For Poyet's sentence, see *Tragedy of Chabot,* V, ii, 185–195 and Pasquier. For Bacon's sentence, see Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 473, note, and Weldon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 133. See also Lehman who notes the resemblances between the sentence of Poyet and that of Bacon, and suggests "the possibility or even probability that a satire upon the fallen Lord Chancellor was intended."

died two years after his restoration to favor; Chabot, in Chapman, dies of grief almost immediately. This elaboration of the pathos in the situation of Chabot is one of the most clear-cut breaks between the play and its source. The difference, however, is not more marked than that between the play and English history. For Somerset did not die of grief, but lived to a ripe old age and survived the King by many years. The explanation of this discrepancy between the play and Pasquier, on the one hand, and English history, on the other, is to be found in Chapman's purpose, which was to appeal to the justice and mercy of James in favor of the Earl of Somerset. As we recall, Somerset was still under the sentence of death between 1622 and 1624, although he had recently been granted a greater freedom than the Tower allowed. Yet this was not a pardon,[92] and until this was given the sentence could at any moment, by a word from the King, be carried into execution.

This was a position which must have galled the pride of the Earl, and have given his friends real cause to fear, especially since we remember that in 1618 Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded on the old sentence of 1603,[93] which James had never revoked. The mere mention of Chabot's death in Pasquier must, therefore, have suggested to Chapman the possibility which such a situation offered to his plea. For by it he could increase the pathos of the Earl's condition, and so increase the strength of his appeal to a monarch who after all was weakly sentimental, particularly

[92] The question may be raised why a pardon which was once refused by the Earl, was now desirable. The Earl demanded a reversal of the judgment, as already shown and when I speak of an appeal for Somerset in the play, I after all speak vaguely. Just what Chapman asks from the mercy of James, I cannot tell. It may easily be, therefore, that he is pleading for the very reversal of judgment which in the play was given to Chabot, and which Somerset desired.

[93] Of course there was added reason for Raleigh's execution in his attack upon the Spaniards in Guiana, and in James' desire for Spanish favor, although ostensibly Raleigh was beheaded on the old sentence.

on the score of his friendships, his justice, and his mercy. The scene then which has no excuse from the dramatic standpoint assumes real significance when we consider the whole play as a monumental piece of propaganda for the much-maligned and still disgraced Earl of Somerset.

CHAPTER VII

DRAMATIC CHARACTERS AND HISTORICAL PERSONAGES

WE HAVE noticed in the study of Chapman's play (Chapter V) that one of the most marked departures from its source is in the characters. Chapman not only fills in the shadowy sketches supplied by Pasquier, but changes some beyond recognition, and adds others neither mentioned in his source nor required by his dramatic action. He has expanded Pasquier's Chabot, has remade Francis, has enlarged and changed the Chancellor, has created Montmorency from a mere name, and has added the Proctor-General, the Queen, the Treasurer, and the Secretary.[1]

By introducing the last three, namely the Queen, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, Chapman has not only departed from his source but by doing so has identified his dramatic action more closely with the historical fall of Somerset. For Somerset fell, as we remember, because the great were leagued against him. And at the head of this faction was Queen Anne who had always looked upon him " with an inauspicious eye."

The reason for Chapman's introduction of the Queen has been a stumblingblock to critics and has been variously explained. Professor Parrott thinks that the part of the Queen, as well as that of the Wife, was " entirely composed, or greatly enlarged, by

[1] I have not named the Father, Allegre, and the Wife among these for the reason that they do not play important parts in the action. Of these three, the Father serves as a foil for his son and a mouthpiece for Chapman's moral; Allegre heightens the pathos by his sufferings and his loyalty to Chabot; and the Wife, critics generally agree, is an addition made by Shirley in his revision.

Shirley to add a feminine interest to Chapman's play."[2] Koeppel accounts for it on personal grounds. In some accounts of the French situation, the mistress of Francis I, Madame d'Estampes, interceded for Chabot and finally obtained his pardon.[3] Although there is no authority for believing that Chapman knew this, since there is no mention of it in Pasquier, yet Koeppel assumes that he did, and on that basis explains the substitution of the Queen for the Mistress. He reasons that since Chapman's trouble over the Byron plays, when he brought the Mistress and the Queen of Henry IV face to face upon the stage, and as a consequence roused the anger of the French ambassador, he had naturally shunned "this dangerous woman," a king's mistress.[4] Such an explanation seems to me inadequate, however, because of the entirely different situations in *Chabot* and the Byron play. In the latter the living Mistress and Queen of a living King were presented upon the stage in a disgraceful quarrel, whereas in the case of *Chabot* a King's mistress who had been dead for almost a century would be represented in the commendable action of begging mercy for a fallen favorite. No exception to this could possibly be taken especially since it was only the presentation of living monarchs that was forbidden by law.

A much more probable explanation of the presence of the Queen in Chapman's play seems to me to lie in the remarkable similarity between her part and that played by Queen Anne in the Somerset intrigue. The Queen takes an important though a limited part in the action of the play. It consists of vigorous

[2] Parrott, *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman:The Tragedies*, p. 641. See Chapter I of this book.

[3] Tavannes, *Nouvelle Collection des Memoires*, published in 1657, and therefore apparently not known by Chapman at this time. Cf. Parrott, *op. cit.*, p. 634, note, for a discussion of this.

[4] Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's*, p. 61.

opposition to the favorite quickly changed to just as vigorous support. She is the "soul" of the great conspiracy against Chabot, and it is her special office to sway the mind of the King against his Admiral by her fiery denunciations. Yet soon after, through sympathy for the Admiral's wife, she completely reverses her attitude and becomes a suppliant for him. This strange and rapid change is thought by some critics to be a sign of Shirley's revision because of his love of rapid shifts and strange surprises. It is, however, entirely in accord with the position taken by Queen Anne toward the Somersets. We have already noted her dislike for the King's favorite as well as her partisanship for the conspiracy against that favorite. The part she played in the later developments of the plot receives less notice in contemporary accounts. However, we know her to have been of a genuinely sympathetic nature, and know that such intercessions as the Queen makes in the play were common to her. There is a brief but eloquent letter from Queen Anne to Buckingham which attests her sympathy for the misfortune of Raleigh and her attempts to save him.[5] Hers too was the voice which after Sir Edward Coke's disgrace saved him from the gibes and insults of his former associates and peers.[6] Moreover, there is one bit of evidence which shows that she exerted her influence for the release of the Somersets, after their imprisonment in the Tower: In a letter written to Sir Dudley Carleton on April 6, 1616, John Chamberlain gives the latest news about the Somerset scandal, and concludes: "There is great means (they say) made for them, and the Queene is an earnest suitor for her, whatsoever the successe wilbe."[7]

But besides the Queen, we have involved in the conspiracy

[5] Dalrymple, Sir David, *Memorials and Letters Relating to James I*, p. 78.

[6] Stratham, *A Jacobean Letter-Writer*, p. 150.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143.

against the older favorite, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Chancellor, and the rival favorite. And in the faction against Somerset, exactly analogous to these characters, we find Sir Henry Montagu, Treasurer at the time Chapman was writing the play, Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State during the strenuous time of the Somerset scandal, Chancellor Bacon who employed every means, fair and foul, to obtain the conviction of Somerset, and George Villiers to whose interest it was that Somerset be removed from the King's side.[8]

It was Sir Henry Montagu who at the trial had charge of the most serious part of the case against Somerset, which was the actual accusation of Somerset's complicity in the poisoning.[9] It was the same Sir Henry Montagu, who as Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1618 passed sentence on Sir Walter Raleigh, which fact coupled with the above may have added to Chapman's grievance against him. Winwood's dislike of Somerset was well known and grew out of the usurpation of the Secretary's power by Somerset even after Winwood's appointment to that office. Winwood, therefore, eagerly aligned himself with the faction of Villiers against Somerset, and even more eagerly hastened to the King with the rumor involving the Somersets about the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.[10] This activity of

[8] There is one significant omission of a prominent enemy who figured in the disgrace of Somerset, and that is Ellesmere who acted as Lord Steward at the trial in order that, as the King and Bacon agree, the process would go more smoothly against the Earl. (See Chapter IV on "Politics in the Court of James.") There seems to be, however, a very good reason for Chapman's omitting him, given in the dedication to Bacon of *The Georgics of Hesiod* (1618) where he acknowledges favors done to him by Ellesmere, when the latter was Lord Chancellor. If we know anything about the character of Chapman, we know of his staunch loyalty. To have introduced Ellesmere in this play in an unfavorable light as the enemy of Somerset would then have been but a poor return for Ellesmere's earlier kindness to Chapman.

[9] Amos, *The Great Oyer of Poisoning,* p. 141.

[10] Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James,* pp. 405–406. See also Chapter IV of this book.

Secretary Winwood against Somerset would alone explain his introduction into Chapman's play, but the fact that after Somerset's fall, he held a place of high influence with the new favorite strengthens the explanation.[11] That Chapman gives Montagu and Winwood no names but the very indefinite ones of Treasurer and Secretary seems to me significant, since these characters were not mentioned in his French source, and therefore could not be dealt with more definitely within the French analogy.[12] This same vagueness of naming has significance in the case of the Proctor-General also.

The addition of this latter character connects Chapman's play even more pointedly with the situation in the English court, for in the person of the Proctor-General, we have the very definite and clear-cut characterization of one of the most notable figures in the Somerset trial, one which is at the same time remarkably accurate and delightfully ironic. Sir Edward Coke, to whom James entrusted the investigation of the Overbury murder, was undoubtedly the ablest lawyer of his time. But, besides this, he was notorious in his day for his indefatigable zeal in the prosecution of state prisoners, for his unlimited supply and indiscriminate use of brutal invective, for his ferocious, unjust, and savage temper, as well as for his unrivaled success in obtaining convictions. Bacon has described him admirably in a letter which I have already quoted.[13] There Bacon frankly sets forth the many faults of Coke: his delight in talking too much, his tendency to frequent and lengthy digression, his cruel delight in insulting misery, his too great zeal on just or unjust grounds, his vainglorious jesting, and his legal tyranny whereby he bent the law

[11] Spedding, *The Life and Times of Francis Bacon,* II, p. 281.

[12] Fleay says of this: "The omission of proper names for the characters looks as if there were an under application intended. Could Chapman have written it concerning the Earl of Essex and Shirley have twisted it to point at Francis Bacon?" *Chronicle of the English Drama,* II, p. 241.

[13] See Chapter IV, pp. 53–54.

to suit his case. That this is the exact character of the Proctor-General hardly demands proof. His love of talking, his prolixity, and his lengthy digressions are amply illustrated in his interminable speeches at the trials of Chabot and of Poyet. Even the Chancellor and the Treasurer are wearied and urge him to "come presently to the matter," to "leave all digressions," while the judges in disgust dismiss his accusation as "but a noise of words." Lightning-swift is his rapid change of sides from the prosecution of the Admiral to that of the Chancellor. He promises the King with all the injudicious zeal of Coke:

> and I
> Will play my law prize; never fear it, sir.
> He shall be guilty of what you please. I am studied
> In him, sir; I will squeeze his villanies,
> And urge his acts so home into his bowels,
> The force of it shall make him hang himself,
> And save the laws a labor.[14]

Just as, in his zeal against the Admiral, he burst forth into fulsome flattery of the King and Chancellor, so now he swings to the other extreme and pours forth odium and abuse upon the Chancellor with cruel delight and savage epithet. The Treasurer is quick to point out this sudden shift in the Advocate's position: "You have acquainted yourself but very lately with this intelligence, for, as I remember, your tongue was guilty of no such character when he sat judge upon the Admiral: a pious, incorrupt man, a faithful and fortunate servant to his king; and one of the greatest honours that ever the Admiral received was, that he had so noble and just a judge: this must imply a strange volubility in your tongue or conscience. I speak not to discountenance any evidence for the King, but to put you in mind, Master Advocate, that you had then a better opinion of my Lord Chancellor."[15] But the Advocate, nothing discomfited by this, glibly adapts his law to suit his purpose and becomes more

[14] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* IV, i, 399–405. [15] *Ibid.,* V, ii, 52–61.

voluble and violent than ever. What was lacking in evidence in both cases was made up for by reviling and insult: "this high and more than horrible monster," "this oppressor and this extortioner," "the very pen and Stygian abyss" of corruption, "this odious this polluted Chancellor," "this traitor to his country," this "tiger of Hyrcanian breed," "a man of so tainted and contagious a life, that it is a miracle any man enjoyeth his nostrils that hath lived within the scent of his offices," "He was born with teeth in his head, by an affidavit of his midwife, to note his devouring, and hath one toe on his left foot crooked, and in the form of an eagle's talon, to foretell his rapacity — what shall I say? branded, marked, and designed in his birth for shame and obloquy."

Who, in a Jacobean audience, would not recognize in all this unjust railing at a prisoner, the reflection of the unseemly and outrageous violence of the King's Attorney-General, Coke? Who would not recall the scenes in the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh when the same Coke taunted his unfortunate victim in the terms: "This horrible and detestable traytor," "this instigator and seducer to treasons," "you are an odious man," "Thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart," "Spider of hell," "There never lived a viler viper on the face of the Earth than thou."[16] And who would be more likely to satirize the Attorney-General in just this fashion than Chapman, the friend of Essex, of Southampton, of Raleigh, and of Somerset, all of whom smarted under the biting lash of Coke's virulence? The same bitterness which shows itself in Chapman's *Invective against Mr. Ben Jonson* bursts forth here against the unjust and brutal treatment of a friend to whom Chapman owed much.

The very slight excuse for the creation of the Proctor-General Chapman found in his source in the character of the Chancellor.

[16] Jardine, *Criminal Trials,* I, pp. 407–410.

In Poyet's rudeness and sneering during the trial scene he found the basis for the introduction of this biting satire on Coke. And the reason for the transfer of the Chancellor's petty railing to a new character, in view of the English affair, is apparent. The English Chancellor played quite a different rôle in the trial of Somerset from that of the Chancellor in Pasquier and was an entirely different person from James' Chief Justice, Coke. We therefore find the Chancellor in Chapman taking on qualities which more nearly approach the characteristics of the great English Chancellor, Lord Bacon.

He becomes in Chapman a much greater figure than he was in Pasquier. He loses his pettiness and rather futile spitefulness. He is still the ambitious man, seeking to rise through another's ruin. In trying to procure a conviction he is still courting royal favor and personal advancement. But he is more scheming, of more penetration, of greater force. In Chapman, he is an active opportunist, instead of a more or less passive one, and is the real instigator of the plot which leads to Chabot's downfall. He is the very head of the conspiracy, the power back of Montmorency, the Queen, and their following, the directing force behind the Advocate in the trial. It is by his worldly wisdom and hypocritical policy that Montmorency is won to his design. He advises the young favorite:

> look to your own fortune;
> Secure your honour: a precision
> In state is a ridiculous miracle;
> Friendship is but a visor, beneath which
> A wise man laughs to see whole families
> Ruin'd, upon whose miserable pile
> He mounts to glory. Sir, you must resolve
> To use any advantage.[17]

It is because of his legal learning that the King believes in the "mountains and marvels" of crime in Chabot. He it is who shrewdly promises that all shall be done in the King's free jus-

[17] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* I, i, 231–237.

tice, yet who puts Allegre to the rack to procure evidence, and who forces the judges to sign the conviction.

> Seeming has better fortune to attend it
> That being sound at heart, and virtuous.[18]

is a policy which he follows throughout. So he courts the new favorite, maligns the old, and flatters the King, to insure for himself a coveted advancement. A man of extraordinary powers, of many honors but greater desires, he yet falls through his pride, his overweening ambition, and his ungenerous self-seeking. The King, finally convinced of his Chancellor's guilt, moralizes on his faults:

> this wretch, whom I knew fierce and proud
> With forms of tongue and learning. What a prisoner
> Is pride of the whole flood of man! For as
> A human seed is said to be a mixture
> And fair contemperature extracted from
> All our best faculties, so the seed of all
> Man's sensual frailty may be said to abide,
> And have their confluence in only pride;
> It stupefies man's reason so, and dulls
> True sense of anything but what may fall
> In his own glory, quenches all the spirits
> That light a man to honour and true goodness.

He is tried on a charge of corruption in office, confesses, is convicted, and humbly sues for the King's mercy:

> Hear me, great judges: if you have not lost
> For my sake all your charities, I beseech you
> Let the King know my heart is full of penitence;
> Calm his high-going sea, or in that tempest
> I ruin to eternity. Oh, my lords,
> Consider your own places, and the helms
> You sit at; while with all your providence
> You steer, look forth and see devouring quicksands!
> My ambition now is punish'd, and my pride
> Of state and greatness falling into nothing.
> . . . . . .

[18] *Ibid.*, IV, i, 141–142.

> . . . . . Some good man
> Bear my repentance thither; he is merciful,
> And may incline the King to stay his lightning,
> Which threatens my confusion. That my free
> Resign of title, office, and what else
> My pride look'd at, would buy my poor life's safety!
> Forever banish me the court, and let
> Me waste my life far off, in some village.[19]

That Chapman in the figure of Poyet represented Sir Francis Bacon as he appeared in the proceedings against Somerset seems to me to be clearly proved. That the resulting picture is necessarily a perfectly true and well-rounded representation does not follow, nor could it be expected. There is no evidence that Chapman knew Bacon more than superficially. It is, therefore, a superficial and prejudiced portrait of the great Chancellor which we must expect, especially if we consider Bacon's part in Somerset's disgrace, and if we believe that Bacon ignored the humble supplication of Chapman in his dedication to *The Georgics of Hesiod*. It certainly will not agree with such a favorable presentation of Bacon as that given by Spedding. It does, however, agree remarkably with a contemporary comment written by Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his Diary (1620–21):

"By letters patent dated the 27th day of this January was Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, created Viscount St. Albans, all men wondering at the exceeding vanity of his pride and ambition. For his estate in land was not above four or five hundred pounds per annum at the uttermost; and his debts were generally thought to be near £30,000. Besides, he was fain to support his very household expenses, being very lavish, by taking great bribes in all causes of moment that came before him, so as men raised very bitter sarcasms or jests of him, as that

[19] *Ibid.*, V, ii, 153–176. Lowell, in an essay on Chapman, refers to this passage as an allusion to the fate of Lord Bacon, and notes the similarities between the sentences of Bacon and Poyet, as well as between their confessions.

he lately was *Very-lame,* alluding to his Barony of Verulam, but now having fallen into a consumption (of purse, without all question,) he was become *All-bones,* alluding to his new honour of St. Albans; nay, they said *Nabal,* being folly or foolishness, and the true anagram of Alban, might well set forth his fond and impotent ambition." [20]

Undoubtedly Bacon was an opportunist in his whole connection with Somerset. Recognizing Somerset's power and influence at the time of his marriage to the Countess of Essex, Bacon sought to ingratiate himself with the favorite by the elaborate display and extravagance of *The Masque of Flowers.* And not wishing to share the glory he refused to divide the expense with Sir Henry Yelverton.[21] Apparently too, he was quick to note the change of favor, for very early in the rise of George Villiers we find Bacon eagerly furthering his interests, giving him advice by which he might hold his place of favor, and hastening the fall of his rival. There is no doubt but that the good will of Villiers had more than a little to do with Bacon's promotion to the Chancellorship. And there is very little doubt but that Bacon's energetic and active service in displacing Somerset had much to do in creating that good will, with the King as well as with Villiers.

For Bacon's ambition and pride made him a servile follower of the great. And as the great changed, Bacon changed also. When Essex lost favor, he lost Bacon. When the King grew weary of Somerset, so did Bacon. We therefore find him writing to Villiers early in 1615, " I am yours, surer to you than my own life. For as they speak of the turquoise stone in a ring, I will break into pieces, before you have the least fall." [22] And to James he writes, " I am afraid of nothing but that the Master of the Horse,

[20] D'Ewes, *Autobiography,* I, pp. 168–169; see also pp. 191–192.
[21] Stratham, *op. cit.,* p. 109.
[22] Amos, op. cit., p. 32, Feb. 15, 1615.

your excellent servant and myself shall fall out about this, who shall hold your Stirrup best." [23] And again he says: "I am well assured of this, that what I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth, which is, That there hath not since Christ's time, any King or Temporal Monarch, which hath been so learned in all Literature and Erudition, Divine and Humane; . . . So as your Majesty stands invested of that Triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient Hermes, the Power and Fortune of a King, the Knowledge and Illumination of a Priest, and the Learning and Universality of a Philosopher." He further says, with particular reference to the Peacham case, one of the most disgraceful persecutions recorded against Bacon: "I can not skill of scruples in your Majesty's service." [24] He even advises his enemy Coke, quite in line with the worldly persuasions of Poyet to "make friends of the unrighteous Mammon." [25]

And well might Chapman look upon Bacon as the leader of the conspiracy against Somerset. We have only to examine the correspondence which passed between Bacon and the King, and Bacon and Villiers to realize that Bacon was the very real head of the conspiracy which forced Somerset's conviction, that he was the directing force who won the legal battle for the enemies of Somerset. For it was the court sentence passed on Somerset which finally made Villiers first favorite to King James, and which meant the complete and utter ruin of the friend of Chapman. Tampering with the Judges was one of Bacon's means used to force a sentence against Somerset as it was the means by which Chapman's Chancellor forced the conviction of Chabot.[26]

[23] *Cabala,* p. 39, Letter to the King, April 1, 1616.
[24] Amos, *op. cit.,* pp. 448–449.
[25] *Cabala,* p. 90.
[26] See Chapter IV of this book; also Amos, *op. cit.,* p. 465, and pp. 448–449.

Ambition, pride, unscrupulous servility, worldly wisdom, hypocritical policy, and great learning are the qualities which characterize the Chancellor in Chapman's drama, and they are the qualities which would have impressed a prejudiced observer of Chancellor Bacon at the period of his greatness prior to his disgrace in 1621.

Probably the most striking incident of his trial would be the one which stands in such marked contrast to the pride of his earlier bearing and in such obvious agreement with the humility of Chancellor Poyet in Chapman's drama, namely, his humble confession and plea for mercy: "I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defense, and put myself upon the grace and mercy of your Lordships. . . . I am heartily and penitently sorry, and submit myself to the judgment, grace and mercy of the court . . . I shall conclude with an humble suit unto you, that if your Lordships proceed to sentence, your sentence may not be heavy to my ruin, but gracious, and mixt with mercy, and not only so, but that you would be noble intercessors for me to his Majesty likewise, for his grace and favor." [27]

In the character of Chabot in Pasquier, Chapman found the sketch which he has greatly enlarged in his play. He is slightly changed in Chapman, however, in that he is more deserving and just. Instead of a quarrel arising out of the fickleness of the monarch and the unthinking defiance of the Admiral, Chapman has more fully motivated it in order not only to exonerate Chabot from all blame for his apparent insolence, but also to increase his nobility through adherence to a principle of justice. The dominant trait of Chapman's Chabot is his courageous independence and staunch defense of justice against all opposition. As Allegre describes him in the first scene:

[27] Spedding, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 491, 501–502.

> The Admiral is not flexible, nor won
> To move one scruple, when he comprehends
> The honest tract and justness of a cause.[28]

And so he proves to be when tested by the unjust bill. And afterward, though deserted by friends and servants, he defies his enemies in the calm assurance of his right:

> I walk no desert, yet go arm'd with that
> That would give wildest beasts instincts to rescue
> Rather than offer any force to hurt me —
> My innocence, which is a conquering justice
> And wears a shield that both defends and fights.[29]

Even against the King's expostulations and entreaties he remains obstinately firm in his chosen course. Such confident opposition was a new experience to the King, and thoroughly roused by it, he seeks now only to humble it. But the Admiral does not bend, and even yet believes in the King's justice and his own innocence.

> The King is just; and by exposing
> Me to this trial, means to render me
> More happy to his subjects and himself.[30]

Even under the fire of the Proctor-General's invective at the trial he is still calmly confident:

> I will not wrong my right and innocence
> With any serious plea in my reply,
> To frustrate breath and fight with terrible shadow[s,]
> That have been forg'd and forc'd against my state.[31]

But this confidence and courage is looked upon by the King and his enemies as insolence and pride, although they are all amazed at it:

> *Treasurer.* Do you observe this confidence?
> He stands as all his trial were a dream.

[28] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* I, i, 86–88.
[29] *Ibid.,* II, ii, 53–57.
[30] *Ibid.,* III, i, 12–14.
[31] *Ibid.,* III, ii, 140–144.

Secretary. He'll find the horror waking.[32]

The King, however, still hopes to humble his Admiral's independence by the verdict of guilty, and to heal it with a pardon:

King. I here, in ear of all these, pardon all
Your faults and forfeits, whatsoever censur'd,
Again advancing and establishing
Your person in all fulness of that state
That ever you enjoy'd before th' attainder.

Treasurer. Wonderful, pardon'd!

. . . . . .

Chabot. Vouchsafe, great sir, to assure me what you said;
You nam'd my pardon.

King. And again declare it,
For all crimes past, of what nature soever.

Chabot. You cannot pardon me, sir.

King. How's that, Philip?

Chabot. It is a word carries too much relation
To an offence, of which I am not guilty.
And I must still be bold, where truth still arms,
In spite of all those frowns that would deject me,
To say I need no pardon.[33]

And Francis, between astonishment and anger, cries out:

Do any hear this but myself? My lords,
This man still justifies his innocence.[34]

This "man of confidence" is the Earl of Somerset whose "braves and bearings of the King," whose courage, calmness, and bold stand upon his innocence are emphasized in every account of his trial, whose independence in his attitude toward James was generally regarded as insolence, and whose refusal of a pardon argued such a firmness that even his enemies were amazed.

[32] *Ibid.*, IV, i, 208–209.
[33] *Ibid.*, IV, i, 223–240.
[34] *Ibid.*, IV, i, 255–256.

"He ever stood on his innocency and would never be brought to confess that he had any hand with his wife in the poisoning of Overbury, knew not of it, nor consented unto it," says the Keeper of the Tower who apparently had plenty of opportunity to observe him.[35] "It is generally said that the Lord of Somerset shall come to his trial on the 5th of December. He still seems not to be shaken with these storms, making great protestations to the lieutenant present what he will do when he shall return to his wonted station and brightness. If this constancy and carelessness be of innocency, I should admire him as a man that hath his mind of an admirable building; but if it proceed from insensibleness, I will pity him as more wretched than those that have been found nocent," writes Mr. John Castle to Mr. James Milles, in November, 1615.[36] "The Earl seems little to care for this aspersion, and shows no manner of change in his countenance, which is strange," writes another.[37] And still another, the anonymous author of *The First Fourteen Years of James I* says: "Sommerset pleaded ignorance, and that these objections were mere tricks to intrap him and incense the king against him." And again, "Sommerset stood to it still that he was not agent in it, and that these accusations did nothing touch him."[38] Even Bacon is moved to comment on the Earl's firmness in a letter to Villiers: "My Lord Chancellor put him in mind of the state he stood in for the impoisonment; but he was little moved with it, and pretended carelessness of life, since ignominy had made him unfit for his majesty's service."[39] "He pleaded not guilty, and defended himself with a boldness which seemed rather to rest on some remaining confidence in the king's favour, than on

[35] Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts and Other Rare Documents*, p. 406.
[36] Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, II, p. 152.
[37] *Ibid.*, II, p. 154, Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. Wm. Trumbull (Res. for King James at Brussels).
[38] Somers, *op. cit.*, II, 301.
[39] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 428, Bacon to Villiers, April 18, 1616.

his own innocence," reads one account of the trial.[40] He defended himself with a sincerity and calmness which roused the sympathy of many who believed him guilty. He rejected all offers of mercy on condition that he confess, no matter how artfully set before him, and he stoutly maintained: "I am confident in my own cause, and am come here to defend it."[41] After the trial, when imprisoned in the Tower, awaiting the judgment of death, he wrote to the King: "I fell rather for want of well defending than by violence or force of any proofs."[42] He refused pardon and repeatedly declared that he was an innocent man, so that he remained in prison for years with the sentence of death hanging over him, the penalty for his firmness.

As the dominant trait of the Admiral in Chapman is his bold independence against odds, so is that of Somerset, according to all contemporary historians, his courageous confidence in his innocence despite the overpowering force of the opposition. Why should Chapman harp on the same quality, and repeat the same chord so insistently unless that dominant note had some meaning? And since this emphasized characteristic of Chabot agrees so manifestly with that of the Earl of Somerset, and agrees with the whole train of circumstances surrounding the Somerset trial, Chapman's intention seems only too clearly indicated as an identification of the disgraced Earl of Somerset with the noble and much wronged Admiral Chabot.

Nevertheless, this identification would be far from certain unless there were a practical identification of other principals in the drama with those in the situation involving Somerset. Yet there is just such an identity between the two other most important figures in Chapman's dramatic action, on the one hand, and the two most prominent persons concerned in the downfall of Somerset on the other. One of the most interesting

[40] Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 347.
[41] Amos, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
[42] Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 355.

characters in Chapman's play is the Constable, Anne Montmorency, and yet he is one who owes nothing to the French source. There is no indication whatever in Pasquier either of his character or of the part he played in the disgrace of Chabot. He is a mere name. There may have been other sources of material about him known to Chapman, but if so he could not have drawn upon them since his picture of the Constable is one entirely unhistorical. Jean de Serres' *History of France,* which was translated into English by Grimeston, and which we know that Chapman used in his earlier French historical plays, gives Montmorency but the briefest mention. There is no justification there for the character which Chapman gives him. In fact there can be no justification from the standpoint of French history for making the Constable so absolutely opposite from the real person. The historical Montmorency, although brave and fearless, was also shrewd, ambitious, and unscrupulous,[43] whereas in Chapman he is young, affable, inexperienced, well-meaning, and generous, though rather too pliable in the hands of such worldly-wise politicians as the wily Chancellor. "Good man he would be, would the bad not spoil him"; [44] Chabot's father keenly observes at one time, and at another he describes him as "A gay man and a great." [45]

"And what's his rival, the Lord High Constable?" asks the gossipy Asall of the courtier Allegre. And the latter answers:

> As just, and well inclin'd, when he's himself
> (Not wrought on with the counsels and opinions
> Of other men), and the main difference is,
> The Admiral is not flexible, nor won
> To move one scruple, when he comprehends
> The honest tract and justness of a cause:
> The Constable explores not so sincerely
> The course he runs, but takes the mind of others

[43] Coignet, *Francis the First and His Times,* pp. 294–296.
[44] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* II, ii, 27.
[45] *Ibid.,* I, ii, 18.

(By name judicial), for what his own
Judgment and knowledge should conclude.[46]

He suspects the advice given him by the Chancellor, and hesitates to break faith with the King and Chabot:

With what assurance shall the King expect
My faith to him that break it for another?
. . . . . .
. . . with what justice,
Or satisfaction to the inward judge,
Shall I be guilty of this good man's ruin? [47]

But though reluctant, he allows himself to be persuaded

That gainst the politic and privileg'd fashion,
All justice tastes but affectation.[48]

and yields consent to the plot against his newly-pledged friend, the Admiral. He is, however, only a passive instrument and "like a green faggot in his kindling, smokes." The enemies of Chabot, seeing this, pursue him and leave no art to gain him to their faction:

[46] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* I, i, 83–92. D'Ewes draws a comparison between Somerset and Buckingham, which is interesting in this connection: "Certainly, had he [Buckingham] followed my Lord of Somerset's example in some particulars, the Church and Commonwealth had faired better, and his memory had doubtless been more accepted with posterity; for I have heard Sir Robert Cotton affirm, that some hundreds of monopolies and projects by which the Commonwealth was oppressed were refused by my Lord of Somerset, and for the present dashed, which afterwards all passed by Buckingham's means: that Somerset suffered no honours to be conferred but rarely, and that upon persons of noble extraction and fair revenue; whereas my Lord of Buckingham, without regard of person or condition, prostituted all honours under the degree of a marquis to such as would buy them: that whereas the former favourite advanced none of his name or kindred to undeserved preferments or unmeet honours; the latter invested so many of his name, kindred, and alliance with high titles, as many of them were enforced to be burthens to the Crown or Commonwealth, or to themselves: that Somerset ever highly esteemed the advice and counsel of grave and wise men; but the Duke of Buckingham was too often bid by his own lust and passion, or by the rash dictates of young heads" (D'Ewes, op. cit., I, pp. 81–82).

[47] *Ibid.,* I, i, 210–218.

[48] *Ibid.,* I, i, 240–241.

> And where the Chancellor, his chief Cyclops, finds
> The fire within him apt to take, he blows.[49]

Actually kindly and without malice, he recoils when he realizes the extent of the plot and appreciates the real nobility of the Admiral. And so he honestly and frankly acknowledges his error, and truly penitent, sets about to right it by appealing to the King for the man he has wronged:

> I would not have
> It lie upon my fame that I should be
> Mentioned in story his unjust supplanter
> For your whole kingdom. I have been abused,
> And made believe my suit was just and necessary;
> My walks have not been safe, my closet prayers,
> But some plot has pursued me by some great ones
> Against your noble Admiral; they have frighted
> My fancy into my dreams with their close whispers
> How to uncement your affections,
> And render him the fable and the scorn
> Of France.
>
> *Queen.* Brave Montmorency!
>
> *King.* Are you serious?
>
> *Montmorency.* Have I a soul or gratitude to acknowledge
> Myself your creature, dignified and honour'd
> By your high favours? With an equal truth
> I must declare the justice of your Admiral
> (In what my thoughts are conscious), and will rather
> Give up my claim to birth, title, and offices,
> Be thrown from your warm smile, the top and crown
> Of subjects' happiness, than be brib'd with all
> Their glories to the guilt of Chabot's ruin." [50]

This favorable portrait of the Constable who according to history was violent and quarrelsome requires more explanation than has yet been given it. To me, it is one of the most significant creations in the play since it has no basis whatsoever in Pasquier. And its significance lies in the fact that it agrees in every detail with the character of the young George Villiers in the earlier part

[49] *The Tragedy of Chabot,* II, ii, 20–21. [50] *Ibid.,* IV, i, 47–67.

of his career as King's favorite. Gay, inexperienced, and susceptible to flattery, he was yet kindly, generous, and ready to take advice. Realizing the difficulties of his new power with the King, he sought help from those whom he respected as being greater and wiser than himself. According to the testimony of his contemporary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, this lack of confidence in his own judgment often led him to accept " the rash dictates of young heads," just as Montmorency too often took

> the mind of others
> (By name judicial), for what his own
> Judgment and knowledge should conclude.[51]

Lord Clarendon thus comments upon his engaging amiability: " This great man was a person of a noble nature and generous disposition, and of such other endowments, as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. . . . He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which most of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his actions, and his contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation. . . . His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement that it was as so many marriages for better or worse, and so many leagues, offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would. . . . He was of an excellent nature, and of a capacity very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous and bountiful; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or an unkind thing. . . . If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he was charged, and it is a weed (if it be

[51] Cf. note 46.

a weed) apt to grow in the best soils, it does not appear that it was in his nature, or that he brought it with him to Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air."[52] "He was modest, affable and full of courtesy, and it seemed to those who had first brought him into the Royal favour that he would serve their interests and be a pliant tool, while those who had most to fear from the downfall of Somerset — the great Howard family and their dependents — were not as yet aware that in this handsome youth of easy grace and charm of manner they would find a dangerous rival." Such is the description of him at this early period given by Philip Gibbs.[53] Bishop Goodman says of him: "He was the handsomest bodied man of England; his limbs so well compacted, and his conversation so pleasing, and of so sweet a disposition. And truly his intellectuals were very great; he had a sound judgment and was of a quick apprehension; insomuch that I have heard it from two men and very great men . . . that he was as inwardly beautiful as he was outwardly, and that the world had not a more ingenious gentleman; or words to the like effect."[54] Vanity, love of homage, and the desire to please his friends led him into difficulties which his natural amiability and generous honesty would have avoided. Yet he was ever ready to acknowledge a fault and make amends if he were led unjustly to suspect or wrong anyone. Even Johnson, who writes warping everything possible against him, admits that he was "the demi-god of the courtiers who puffed him up with vanity," though he was in reality "humane and warm in his attachments."[55] Despite his rapid rise to favor and the inordinate flattery of James' courtiers, he seemed to have retained his unassuming charm and unspoiled modesty five years later,

[52] Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England,* I, pp. 50–57.

[53] Gibbs, *The Romance of George Villiers,* p. 48.

[54] Goodman, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 225–226.

[55] Johnson, *The Life of Sir Edward Coke,* I, p. 364.

when the Puritan D'Ewes in spite of political animosity could write of him: "seeing the Marquis of Buckingham discoursing with two or three French Monsieurs, I joined them, and most earnestly viewed him for about half an hours space at least. . . . I saw everything in him full of delicacy and handsome features; yea, his hands and face seemed to me especially effeminate and curious. . . . That he was afterwards an instrument of much mischief both at home and abroad is so evident upon record as no man can deny; yet this I do suppose proceeded rather from some Jesuitical incendiaries about him, than from his own nature, which his very countenance promised to be affable and gentle." [56]

We have evidence in the letters of Bacon that Villiers was involved in the attempt to convict Somerset, whether guilty or not. We know also, as in the case of Queen Anne, that intercessions, such as Chapman's Montmorency made for the wronged Chabot, were entirely characteristic of Villiers, and were made by him in favor of the release of Raleigh from the Tower, and also in securing Bacon's release after his conviction of corruption in 1621. In fact, throughout the whole Bacon trial, although Buckingham was himself in danger and, because of his leniency toward Bacon, incurred greater danger, he was almost the only suppliant for the Chancellor. Among the Peers at the trial, his was the solitary vote against Bacon's conviction. We know, furthermore, that London gossip attributed to Villiers a part in the release of the Somersets from the Tower, since John Chamberlain faithfully reports this occurrence in his letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, written on January 19, 1622: "The Marques Buckingham has contracted with the Lord and Lady Wallingford for their home neare Whitehall, for some monie and the making of Sir Thomas Howard, baron of Charleton and Viscount Andover, and some thincke the deliverie of the Lord of Somerset and his Lady

[56] D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 166–167.

out of the towre was part of the bargain; I heare they came out severally on Thursday in the evening."[57] This of course puts the performance on the basis of a bargain between members of the family of the Countess of Somerset and Villiers, which may have been a true representation of the case. Chapman's reason for presenting the affair in a more favorable light, with Villiers sympathetically interceding for Somerset, and for drawing a picture so entirely pleasing is undoubtedly due to the fact that Villiers was still the first favorite of James, when it is probable that Chapman was writing the play, and that the success of his appeal for Somerset would depend not only upon its reception by the King but also upon the reaction of the favorite. Consequently, policy, if there were such a thing in Chapman's make-up, would demand a complimentary representation. It is quite possible too that Chapman may have been entirely sincere in so presenting him, since the portrait harmonizes so perfectly with those drawn by contemporaries in the earlier years of the favorite's influence.

In the character of the King we have another interesting parallel with English history, for between Francis I, as Chapman has given him, and James I there is more than an accidental resemblance. As every history records, James was ruled in all things by an inordinate vanity, which made him a particularly susceptible subject for the fawners of his court. He prided himself among other things upon his place as peace-maker, his king-craft, and his merciful justice. Thus his flatterers make unlimited use of these qualities in their fulsome adulation of him. The masques, dramas, and poems of the age are full of praise of the King in the capacity of peace-maker.[58] Even the malicious Weldon says of him: "He lived in peace, dyed in peace, and left all his kingdomes in a peaceable condition, with his owne motto: *Beati*

[57] Stratham, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–202.

[58] In *Tears of Peace*, Chapman represents James as the King of Peace.

pacifici." [59] Rex Pacificus was one of the titles bestowed upon him, and another, James the Just.

> Do this for him, write on his dust,
> James the peaceful and the just.

concludes an epitaph written upon his death in 1625.[60]

Ben Jonson in one of the favorite masques of James extols him for his justice:

> But stay, — in your Jupiter's mount, what is here?
> A King! a monarch! what wonders appear!
> High, bountiful, just; a Jove for your parts,
> A master of men, and that reigns in their hearts.

and goes on to sing a paean of praise to James the Just.[61] But probably in praising James for his justice, Josuah Sylvester outdoes all in the dedication of his translation of *Du Bartas,* to James Stuart, *A Just Master:*

> For A just Master have I labour'd long:
> To A just Master have I vow'd my best:
> By A just Master should I take no wrong:
> With A just Master would my life be blest.
> In A just Master are all Virtues met:
> From A just Master flowes abundant grace:
> But A just Master is so hard to get,
> That A just Master seems of Phoenix race:
> Yet, A just Master have I found in fine.
> Of A just Master I so just define:
> My Liege James Stuart A just Master is.
> And A just Master could my Work deserve,
> Such A just Master would I justly serve.[62]

Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Edward Coke seize every opportunity to commend James upon his "Princely zeal for justice" [63] in the Somerset affair. Bacon speaks of the King at the trial

[59] Weldon, *op. cit.,* II, p. 12.
[60] Scott, ed., *The Secret History of the Court of James the First,* p. 300.
[61] Ben Jonson, *Masques and Entertainments,* "The Gipsies Metamorphosed," p. 261.
[62] Sylvester, *Du Bartas, His Weekes and Workes.*
[63] Amos, *op. cit.,* Coke to James, Oct. 19, 1615, p. 373.

"who amongst other his virtues, excelleth in that virtue of the imperial throne, which is justice."[64] "I see a great assembly in this court," says Coke, "and, although it has been often shown to you, yet it cannot be said too often, how much the city is bound to God and to the King his deputy upon Earth, and my Master, for their great deliverance and exact justice. God is always just; and for the King, though they were ever so high in place, or so dear to him, though his own creatures, yet his justice is dearer to him, for which we are upon our knees to give him thanks, and also for so mild a proceeding in so great an affair."[65]

So in an examination of the King in Chapman, we find him extolled for the very qualities upon which James prided himself. He moves the reconcilement "the noblest fruit of peace" between the rival favorites. He is praised by Chabot for his mastery of the "imperial art," his policy by which he rules and guides his nation as well as his favorites. But chiefly is he praised for

> The honour and the chief life of the King
> Which is his justice.[66]

He commands that the case against Chabot be proved with free justice. Chabot remains confident that the King is just and therefore in the trial but tests his loyalty. "I never had a fear of the King's justice," he maintains after his vindication. The Proctor-General enlarges upon "how infinitely the King hath favoured this ill-favoured traitor"; and adds, quite in the vein of Coke when he praises James for his mild conduct of the Somerset trial, "And yet I may worthily too insist and prove that no grace hath been so large and voluminous as this, that he hath appointed such upright judges at this time."[67]

[64] Somers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 347.
[65] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 260.
[66] *The Tragedy of Chabot*, II, ii, 71–72.
[67] *Ibid.*, III, ii, 5–8.

> O blessed justice, by which all things stand,
> That stills the thunder, and makes lightnings sink
> 'Twixt earth and heaven amaz'd,[68]

the King cries out when he learns of the perfidy of the Chancellor; and when he realizes that Chabot is dying, he sees in this a retribution, and a warning of the fate of any kingdom which sins against justice:

> For justice being the prop of every kingdom,
> And mine broke, violating him that was
> The knot and contract of it all in him;
> It [is] already falling in my ear.[69]

What would be more pleasing to the vanity of James than the outburst of Chabot upon his justice and mercy?

> When I think
> Upon the King, I've balm enough to cure
> A thousand wounds; have I not, Allegre?
> Was ever bounteous mercy read in story
> Like his upon my life, condemn'd for sacrifice
> By law, and snatch'd out of the flame unlooked for,
> And unpetitioned? But his justice then,
> That would not spare whom his own love made great,
> But give me up to the most cruel test
> Of judges, for some boldness in defense
> Of my own merits and my honest faith to him,
> Was rare, past example.[70]

Chapman has emphasized these qualities of justice and mercy in the King for the definite purpose of an appeal to those very qualities for the pardon of Somerset. Nothing would be more logical than to appeal through them since they were prime sources of James' pride. And carefully Chapman eliminates all traces of blame in the King's conduct. If there is any fault it is the commendable one of a too great trust in those about him, and a credulous belief in his ministers. The King's action against his favorite is not due, as in the source, to inconstancy, but rather to wounded affection and to the clever scheming of that favor-

[68] *Ibid.*, IV, i, 421–423. [69] *Ibid.*, V, iii, 175–178. [70] *Ibid.*, V, iii, 72–83.

ite's enemies. Both the whim of Francis to oppose Chabot, and the conniving of James with the enemies of Somerset are omitted for the obvious reason that such uncomplimentary implications would have defeated Chapman's plea for Somerset, which depended so much upon tickling the fancy of a vain monarch. As it was in the case of Buckingham, so it was in the case of the King: a favorable and flattering presentation was absolutely necessary to the success of Chapman's cause.

We find, therefore, that differences between the figures in Pasquier's story of Chabot and those in Chapman are accounted for by the persons involved in the downfall of Somerset in English history. There is closer identity between Chapman's characters and historical personages of the Stuart court than there is between those of Chapman and of his source. Obviously, then, such agreement cannot be lightly dismissed. What Pasquier did not furnish, English history has supplied. Since Pasquier alone cannot account for the characters and action of Chapman's tragedy, and since the analogy between this drama and the Somerset intrigue is striking and unmistakable, is it not reasonable to conclude that there is a double source for *The Tragedy of Chabot*, namely, Pasquier and English history? And if this is the case, must we not also conclude that this tragedy was written between the years 1621 and 1624, that is between the year of Bacon's disgrace and the year of Somerset's pardon?

Such a position is based upon certain definitely established facts: that Chapman was genuinely interested in politics and intimately acquainted with the Stuart court and its important figures; that among these important persons whom Chapman knew, Somerset was prominent, that he was, in fact, Chapman's friend and patron, to whom Chapman remained faithful even through the most disgraceful scandal of the Overbury murder; that Somerset was in a position of grave danger which would be the cause of real concern to his friends; that an appeal to James for mercy

and justice would then be amply motivated; that Chapman's methods, moralistic, satiric, and allegoric, as well as his knowledge of French history, would explain his use of a French analogy which offered such a striking parallel in situation; that Chapman's theory of poetry and drama would justify his use of a symbolic representation; that the tragedy in question presents an action which agrees more closely with the English situation than with the story in the French source; and that the characters in the drama are identified more clearly with the personages of the Stuart court than with the figures in Pasquier.

"And for the authentical truth of either person or action, who (worth the respecting) will expect it in a poem, whose subject is not truth, but things like truth? Poor envious souls they are that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions; material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentical tragedy," says Chapman on the subject. In *The Tragedy of Chabot,* then, we have what Chapman insists is the soul and substance of tragedy — "not truth but things like truth," some memorable examples for the use of policy and state which are enlarged and altered to suit Chapman's present and illustrious purpose which is the recommending of a virtue and the curing of a vice. More specifically, we have the particular truth which was engaging all London's attention at the time, the intrigue among courtiers at the Stuart court with the prize of a King's favor at stake; we have this truth enlarged and altered to suit Chapman's beneficent purpose which is the recommending to James of mercy toward the wronged Earl of Somerset.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Chapman becomes sewer-in-ordinary in Prince Henry's household 1603–1604
Robert Carr is created Viscount Rochester ..... March 25, 1611
Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, dies ..... May 24, 1612
Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, acts as Secretary of State 1612–1614
Prince Henry dies ..... Nov. 6, 1612
Sir Thomas Overbury is imprisoned in the Tower of London, April 26, 1613
Chapman comes to the attention of Robert Carr (suggested date) .. 1613
Sir Thomas Overbury dies in the Tower ..... Sept. 15, 1613
The marriage of the Lady Essex is annulled ..... Sept. 25, 1613
Viscount Rochester is created Earl of Somerset ..... Nov. 3, 1613
The Earl of Somerset marries Lady Essex ..... Dec. 26, 1613
Chapman publishes *Andromeda Liberata* 1614
Chapman publishes his *Justification of Andromeda Liberata* 1614
Ralph Winwood becomes Secretary of State ..... March 29, 1614
A cabal of nobles plan the downfall of Somerset 1614
George Villiers attracts the attention of King James ..... Aug., 1614
Chapman's *Odyssey* is entered in the Stationer's Register .... Nov. 2, 1614
James I writes expostulatory letters to Somerset ..... Jan.–Feb., 1615
George Villiers becomes gentleman of the bedchamber ..... April 23, 1615
Rumor that Overbury was murdered implicates the Somersets, Sept. 10, 1615
Sir Edward Coke is issued a commission to investigate ..... Oct. 13, 1615
The Somersets are arrested on a charge of murder ..... Oct. 17, 1615
Weston, Franklin, Mrs. Turner, and Helwys are executed as accessories to the crime ..... Nov., 1615
Francis Bacon, George Villiers, and King James plan the conviction of Somerset and his Lady ..... Jan.–May, 1616
Francis Bacon is promised the place of Lord Chancellor ..... Feb., 1616
The Countess of Somerset is tried, confesses, and is sentenced to death ..... May 24, 1616
The Earl of Somerset is tried, pleads innocent, and is sentenced to death ..... May 25, 1616
Sir Edward Coke is suspended from the council and from the public exercise of judicial duties ..... June 30, 1616
The Countess of Somerset is pardoned, but remains with the Earl in the Tower ..... July 13, 1616
George Villiers is created Viscount Villiers ..... Aug. 27, 1616
Sir Edward Coke is removed from the chief justiceship ..... Nov. 15, 1616
Sir Henry Montagu is made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Nov. 16, 1616

Chapman publishes his *Odyssey,* dedicated to the Earl of Somerset .. 1616
George Villiers becomes Duke of Buckingham ..... Jan. 5, 1617
Francis Bacon is made Lord Keeper ..... March 7, 1617
Francis Bacon becomes Lord Chancellor ..... Jan. 7, 1618
Francis Bacon is created Baron Verulam ..... July 11, 1618
Chapman dedicates *The Georgics of Hesiod* to Chancellor Bacon 1618
Sir Walter Raleigh is beheaded ..... Oct. 29, 1618
Queen Anne dies ..... March 2, 1619
Sir Henry Montagu becomes Lord Treasurer ..... Dec. 16, 1620
Sir Henry Montagu is created Viscount Mandeville ..... Dec. 19, 1620
Francis Bacon is created Viscount St. Albans ..... Jan. 27, 1621
Chancellor Bacon is charged with corruption in office ..... March 12, 1621
Chancellor Bacon makes a formal submission to the Lords, March 27, 1621
Sentence is passed upon Bacon ..... May 3, 1621
A new edition of *Les Recherches* is published 1621
Chapman's *Pro Vere Autumni Lachrymae* is published with a dedication to the Earl of Somerset 1622
The Earl of Somerset is freed from the Tower ..... Jan., 1622
Chapman's *Hymns of Homer* is published with a dedication to the Earl of Somerset 1624
Chapman writes *The Tragedy of Chabot* (suggested date) 1621–1624
The Earl of Somerset is pardoned ..... Dec., 1624
King James dies ..... March 27, 1625
Francis Bacon dies ..... April 9, 1626
George Villiers is assassinated ..... Aug. 23, 1628
George Chapman dies ..... May 12, 1634
The Tragedy of Chabot is licensed ..... April 29, 1635
The Tragedy of Chabot is entered on the Stationer's Register, Oct. 24, 1638
The first Quarto of *The Tragedy of Chabot* is published 1639
The Earl of Somerset dies ..... July, 1645

APPENDIX B

THE LICENSING OF *THE TRAGEDY OF CHABOT*

The title page of the first Quarto states that *The Tragedy of Chabot* was presented by Her Majesties Servants at the private house in Drury Lane. Yet from evidence furnished by the Revels accounts of Sir Henry Herbert, it was not licensed for presentation until April 29, 1635, a year after Chapman's death, and, according to my conclusion, eleven years after it was written. This leaves a strange gap. Why was the play not licensed earlier? How can we account for eleven years of obscurity?

As studies on the authorship of the play have revealed, the original play was Chapman's; Shirley later revised it. Suppose that my evidence is correct that Chapman wrote the play between the date of Bacon's trial in 1621 and that of Somerset's pardon in 1624. He then submitted it to the Master of the Revels for licensing, who, since there is no record of a license at this early date, must have refused it. If it presents a political analogy, as I believe, is it not plausible that the censor would detect it and so refuse a license? There are strong reasons for supposing this would be the case. In two earlier instances, in connection with *Eastward Hoe* and with the Byron plays, Chapman had been in serious trouble with the censor for introducing contemporary satire. He would, therefore, be an object of suspicion when he applied for another license. Furthermore, in these earlier instances, Sir George Buck, from 1597 to 1610 acting Master of the Revels, as deputy for his uncle, Edmund Tilney, and Master from 1610 to 1622,[1] was the censor with whom Chapman had been in conflict. And it was to Sir George Buck that Chapman would apply, if he submitted the play in 1621 or 1622. One part of the allegory in Chapman's play most striking for its accuracy to the political situation is the trial and conviction of Chancellor Bacon. Yet this was but concluded in May, 1621, and would be fresh in the mind of Buck. It seems incredible then that he would not censor it and deny a license.

There is another interesting sidelight which the history of the Revels throws upon the play. As we recall, the family of the Herberts was bitterly opposed to the Earl of Somerset and was among those families, who, according to contemporary gossip, first plotted to supplant Somerset in the King's favor. The arrest of Somerset in 1615 left the office of Lord Chamberlain vacant, and James I, seeing an opportunity for a concession to the opponents of Somerset, appointed William Herbert, Earl of Pem-

[1] See Sir Henry Herbert, *The Dramatic Records,* for information about the Revels office.

broke, to that office. As it happened, the Lord Chamberlain was the superior officer of the Master of the Revels, so that William Herbert, the enemy of Somerset, now had ultimate power over the licensing of plays. Just how much this power was exercised at this early date is not known. From records in the office of the Lord Chamberlain, we do know that by 1628 it was being exercised frequently.[2]

It is possible that Chapman did not submit *Chabot,* however, until after 1622; in fact, if he wrote it after the trial of Bacon in May, 1621, the likelihood is great that it would not be submitted until later. Early in 1623, the office of the Master of the Revels was technically in the hands of Sir John Astley, who succeeded Buck. But in the meantime, the Mastership had attracted Sir Henry Herbert, who through the influence of William Herbert, Lord Chamberlain and his near kinsman, bought the office and replaced Astley in July, 1623. If, then, Chapman submitted *Chabot* any time after that, it would be to a member of the Herbert family. It would be strange indeed if an analogy to the Stuart intrigue would pass unquestioned and unperceived by one of the very cabal of nobles who helped to ruin Somerset. What is more, the satire on Bacon would certainly be detected by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, one of the lords who had tried the Chancellor, and one of the few who had befriended him. Bacon's notes written after his conviction record the fact that he intended writing to Pembroke to thank him for "the moderation and affection his lordship showed in my business."[3] It was at this time too that the relationship of the Lord Chamberlain became closer to that of the Master of the Revels. Certainly, *The Tragedy of Chabot,* a political allegory, submitted by a poet known for earlier political offences and as the supporter of Somerset, would be refused a license, whether by Sir George Buck, by Sir Henry Herbert, or through the influence of William Herbert, Lord Chamberlain.

But several years pass. King James dies in 1625, Bacon in 1626, George Villiers in 1628, William Herbert in 1630, and George Chapman in 1634. Along with the death of most of the principals, interest in the Somerset scandal has largely died out. Sir Philip Herbert succeeds his brother in the office of Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Henry Herbert continues in office as Master of the Revels. James Shirley, a popular, young dramatist, in search of grist for his dramatic mill, somehow unearths Chapman's *Tragedy of Chabot.*

Just what the relationship was between Chapman and Shirley is very doubtful. In 1639, two plays, *The Ball* and *The Tragedy of Chabot,* were published, the title pages stating that they were written by George Chapman and James Shirley. At this time Chapman was dead. *The Ball* had been licensed November 16, 1632, as written by Shirley alone. It was apparently performed almost immediately, for on November 18, Sir Henry Herbert objected to it and demanded certain changes. As his office-book records, "ther were divers personated so naturally, both of lords and

[2] John Palmer, *The Censor and the Theatres,* p. 27.

[3] See account of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in *The Dictionary of National Biography,* by Sidney Lee.

others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Biston [Christopher Beeston] promiste many things which I found fault withall should be left out, and that he would not suffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deserves to be punisht; and the first that offends in this kind, of poets or players, shall be sure of publique punishment."[4] Whether Shirley himself made the requisite changes or turned the play over to Chapman for revision, no one knows. Critics generally agree that there is little of Chapman in the play. Professor Parrott believes that it is all Shirley; Monsieur Schoell sees slight traces of Chapman; Fleay thinks that Chapman revised only the objectionable passages. Actual collaboration between Shirley and Chapman is inconceivable. And yet it is not entirely impossible that Shirley, busy at the time turning out many plays,[5] should turn to Chapman for help on minor corrections, which had to be made immediately to allow the play to proceed. The revision itself may have been very slight. The objections may even have been due more to the impersonations of the actors than to lines in the play. In his earlier trouble over the Byron plays, Chapman offered just such an explanation when he accused the actors of taking too great freedom with his lines.

Through this slight connection with Shirley's play, *The Ball,* Chapman may have seen in the younger man's facility and popularity an opportunity for his discarded play, *The Tragedy of Chabot.* He may some time later have turned to Shirley for help in its revision and correction. And Shirley, although too busy to take it up at once, undertook it because he saw its dramatic possibilities. The revision was delayed, however, so that before it was completed, Chapman had died.

Whether Shirley was given *Chabot* by Chapman himself, or whether he came into possession of it after Chapman's death through Her Majesties Servants, who may have possessed the original manuscript, really makes little difference here. The nature of the revision, however, is of the utmost importance. Shirley seems to have left the action almost intact; he has smoothed out rough spots, rewritten a few scenes, and added a character or so to increase the pathos or feminine interest. Professor Parrott, in his analysis of Shirley's revision, says: "I believe three scenes of the eleven composing the play, namely I, i, II, iii, and V, ii, remain essentially as Chapman wrote them; and II, i and III, i are practically new scenes by Shirley, displacing, in the first case at least, older work by Chapman; and that all the rest of the play presents a ground work of Chapman, revised, cut down, and added to by Shirley."[6]

According to this analysis, those scenes which "remain essentially as Chapman wrote them" are among those which present the clearest analogy to the Stuart situation: the discussion by the courtiers at the opening of the play of the rising and falling favorites, the reconcilement

[4] Sir Henry Herbert, *The Dramatic Records,* p. 19.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Parrott, *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Tragedies,* p. 633.

of these favorites by the King, and the developing plot to displace the older favorite; the crucial scene between the King and the older favorite, when the King's anger is aroused through Chabot's insolent pride, and when the King commissions the Chancellor to investigate his favorite's conduct; and finally that striking scene in which the Chancellor is tried and convicted.

On the other hand, those scenes which Professor Parrott characterizes as "practically new scenes by Shirley" definitely obscure the analogy by additions not true to the Stuart situation. For instance, the Queen's part seems to have been materially enlarged and enlivened; a motive for the Queen's antagonism toward Somerset, jealousy of Chabot's wife, is supplied; and the character of the Wife is added. The Queen in Shirley's scenes lacks the dignity of Chapman's royal figures and reveals the spirit of Shirley's women; the motive of jealousy, furnished by Shirley, is entirely out of keeping with Queen Anne's part in the Somerset affair, and in the historical accounts is nowhere even suggested; the Wife, a character not named in the dramatis personae of the first Quarto and apparently added by Shirley, is in no way similar to the Countess of Somerset. Yet the enlargement of the Queen's part, the development of the jealousy motive, and the addition of the Wife are exactly in keeping with Shirley's love of intrigue and his fondness for a large feminine interest in his other plays.

In the process of revision, Shirley has, therefore, definitely obscured Chapman's political analogy. When he submits it for licensing, Sir Henry Herbert consequently raises no objection and it is accepted. It is licensed in 1635, is acted soon after by Her Majesties Servants, the company which performed most of Shirley's plays, and is published in 1639, still several years before the death of its principal, the Earl of Somerset.

APPENDIX C

LES RECHERCHES DE LA FRANCE

Du procez extraordinaire fait, premierement à Messire Philippe Chabot Admiral de France, puis à Messire Guillaume Pouyet Chancelier.

CHAPITRE IX

Ce que i'ay deduit cy-dessus regarde les belles pointes des mots, ce que ie deduiray cy-apres regardera les belles rencontres des faits, pour enseigner tous les Iuges de n'accommoder leurs volontez en iugeant, aux volontez extraordinaires des Roys leurs Maistres. Des Essars fit mourir Montaigu, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolatre: Et Dieu permit que depuis il fut decapité, mais auecques vne suitte beaucoup plus ignominieuse que celle dont il auoit traité Montaigu, comme i'ay plus amplement discouru ailleurs. Ie feray vn saut du regne de Charles VII, à celuy de François I. M'asseurant que ce que ie discourray ne desplaira aux Lecteurs. Entre ceux qui eurent bonne part en ses bonnes graces, ce fut Messire Philippe Chabot, & ne trouue Seigneur de tout ce temps-là ny depuis qui eut approché nos Roys, lequel ait esté tant chargé de dignitez que cestuy. Car il estoit Cheualier de l'Ordre, Admiral de France, Lieutenant general du Roy au pays & Duché de Bourgongne, Conseiller au Conseil Priué, & en outre Lieutenant general de Monsieur le Dauphin aux Gouuernemens de Dauphiné & de Normandie. Telles trouuay-je ses qualitez par l'Arrest contre luy donné dont ie parleray cy-apres. Le Roy ne croyoit qu'en luy seul; entre ceux qui auoient son oreille. Toutesfois comme les opinions des Roys se changent sans sçauoir quelques-fois pourquoy, aussi commença-il auecques le temps de se lasser de luy, & en fin il luy despleut tout à fait. De maniere qu'vn iour entr'autres il le menaça de le mettre és mains de ses Iuges, pour luy estre fait son procez extraordinaire. A quoy l'Admiral ne remettant deuant ses yeux combien c'est chose dangereuse de se ioüer à son Maistre, luy respondit d'vne façon fort altiere, que c'estoit ce qu'il demandoit, sçachant sa conscience si nette, qu'il ne pouuoit estre faite aucune bresche, ny à ses biens, ny à sa vie, ny à son honneur: Ne se souuenant pas du Verset du Roy Dauid, quand parlant à Dieu il disoit:

Si tu veux par rudesse
Nos pechez mesurer,

Seigneur, Seigneur qui est-ce
Qui pourra plus durer?

Ceste responce despleut tant au Roy, que soudain il fit decerner vne commission contre luy: & combien qu'és commissions extraordinaires les Chanceliers n'ayent iamais accoustumé de presider, pour faire le procez criminel à quelque Seigneur que ce soit, ains seulement quand la Cour de Parlement y vaque; auquel cas vn Chancelier selon les occasions y preside, comme chef de la Iustice. Toutes-fois en cestuy-cy que le Roy affectionnoit pour l'irreuerence dont il estimoit l'Admiral auoir vsé enuers luy, le Chancelier Pouyet fut de la partie: auecques vingt & quatre que Presidens, que Conseillers triez de diuers Parlemens. Et le Roy estant lors à Fontaine-bleau, & le procez instruict en la ville de Melun, par le narré de l'Arrest qui fut puis apres donné contre l'Admiral, on trouue que deux & trois fois il fut interrogé par le Chancelier, lequel y presida lors du Iugement, & qui est chose grandement remarquable, en tout le procez nul article par lequel on luy imputast crime de felonnie & leze Majesté, ains quelques exactions induëment par luy faites sur quelques pescheurs, sous pretexte de son Admirauté: Qui fut cause que du commencement il n'y auoit aucune aigreur de la part des Iuges, mais le Chancelier voyant que le Roy affectionnoit la condamnation de leur prisonnier, commença de se roidir contre son innocence, aux yeux de toute la compagnie, qui s'en offença aucunement; d'autant qu'à face ouuerte il taschoit de reduire toutes les opinions à la sienne, en quoy ores qu'il ne fust du tout creu, si en attira-il quelques vns à sa cordelle. Tellement que l'Admiral ne fut pas condamné à mort, mais bien traité fort rudement, & comme les opinions eussent balancé, les vnes au plus, les autres au moins, en cet estrif; le Chancelier indigné, que les choses ne luy succedoient à point nommé, quand ce vint à luy d'opiner, il pria la compagnie de l'en dispenser. Ce qu'elle ne luy voulut accorder, de forte que voyant que ce luy estoit vn faire le faut; en deux mots il declara qu'il passoit à l'opinion la plus seuere. Auant que l'Arrest fust signé, le Rapporteur du procez luy en apporta la minute, non pour la corriger tout à fait, mais bien pour voir s'il y auoit quelques obmissions par inaduertence. Toutesfois pour contenter son opinion, se donnant pleine carriere, le change selon que sa passion le portoit, & estant de ceste façon radoubé; l'enuoye à tous les autres Conseillers pour le soubsigner. Ce que du commencement ils refuserent de faire, mais les violentant d'vne continuë, & de menaces estranges, ils furent contraints de luy obeïr. Voire que l'vn d'eux meit au dessous de son seing, vn petit V, du commencement, & vers la fin vn I, ces deux lettres iointes ensemble faisans vn VI, pour denoter qu'il l'auoit signé par contrainte I'ay voulu repasser sur l'Arrest, par lequel ie remarque vne animosité tres-expresse, & sur le commencement, & sur le milieu; le commencement de l'Arrest est tel. François par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, à " tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Comme sur les plaintes " à nous faites de plusieurs infidelitez, desloyautez & desobeissances enuers " nous, oppression de nostre pauure peuple, forces publiques, exactions in- "

duës, commissions, impressions, ingratitudes, contemnement & mespris, "
tant de nos commandemens, que defenses, entreprises sur nostre authorité, "
& autres fautes, abus, & maluersations, crimes & delits que l'on disoit "
auoir esté commis & perpetrez par Philippes Chabot, & c. Sçauoir faisons "
que nous auons dit & declaré, disons & declarons iceluy Chabot estre "
attaint & conuaincu, mal, induëment, illicitement, iniustement & infi- "
delement, contre les deffences par nous de nostre bouche à luy faites, & "
par impression & force publique, sous ombre de son Admirauté, pris & "
exigé és annees mil cinq cens trente & six, & trente & sept, vingt sols "
sur le percheurs de la coste de Normandie, quie esdictes annees ont esté "
aux harangaisons, & la somme de six liures sur chacun batteau qui estoit "
allé aux macquereaux, combien que luy eussions, comme dict est, deffendu "
de bouche ne rien prendre. "

Autres plus grands chefs d'accusation ne vois-je. Ie ne veux point excuser ces fautes, mais il n'y a Seigneur en France sous lequel ses ministres & seruiteurs ne puissent tomber en tel desarroy, ny pour cela ie nevoy point qu'ils soient recherchez; Vnes lettres patentes d'abolition à petit bruict les enseuelit sans qu'il en soit iamais parlé. Aussi au cas qui s'offre le Chancelier ne trouuant grand suject de condamnation en l'Admiral fut contrainct de cotter nouuelle qualité de crime en luy, comme *d'ingratitude*. Vice vrayement que l'on abhorre naturellement, mais pour lequel on ne fit iamais le procez extraordinaire à vn homme: Le Chancelier estimoit en ce faisant apporter contentement à son Maistre, & toutes-fois Dieu voulut qu'au contraire de son intention le Roy ayant veu l'Arrest commença de se mocquer des Iuges, & sur tout de se courroucer contre le Chancelier qui luy auoit promis monts & merueilles. Ce grand Roy, comme il est grandement vray-semblable, souhaittoit en l'Arrest condamnation de mort, pour accomplir puis apres vn trait absolu de misericorde enuers celuy dont il ne pouuoit oublier l'amitié, encores qu'il l'eust voulu faire repentir de la response trop brusque, dont l'Admiral auoit vsé enuers luy: & s'estans les choses passees de lafaçon que dessus, le Roy le manda querir pardeuers soy, & sans vser de plus longs propos, luy dict. Pour contenter " vostre opinion i'ay faict faire vostre procez, & auez veu le succez qu'en " auez eu pour trop vous croire: Maintenant ie veux contenter la mienne, " & d'vne puissance absoluë vous restablir en tel estat qu'estiez auparauant " l'arrest. A quoy l'Admiral repartit; Pour le moins, Sire, ie loüe Dieu " qu'en tout mon procez il n'y a vn seul mot de felonnie que i'aye commise, ou voulu commettre contre vostre Maiesté. Ceste parole arresta tout court le Roy, lequel pour en estre esclaircy, decerna nouuelle commission à autres Iuges pour sçauoir s'il n'auoit point esté attaint & conuaincu de ce crime. Les Commissaires voyent les procedures & pieces, ausquelles ils n'en trouuent aucune mention, & sans y auoir recours, l'arrest mesme portoit vn ample tesmoignage qu'il n'en estoit rien. Au moyen dequoy apres auoir oüy leur rapport, le Roy decerna ses lettres Patentes, par lesquelles il le remettoit en sa bonne fame & renommee telle comme auparauant, sur lesquelles fut donné arrest, prononcé en robbe rouge aux grands Arrests de Pasques le 29. iour de Mars 1541. Le coup toutesfois du premier arrest l'vlcera de telle façon qu'il ne suruesquit pas longuement.

Adonc commença la fortune de liurer nouuelle chance, car le Roy renuoya en sa maison Messire Anne de Montmorency Connestable de France; & voulut le procez estre fait au Chancelier, à la requeste de son Procureur general en sa Cour de Parlement de Paris: Plusieurs memoires sont apportez contre luy, mais les plus signalez & picquans furent les extraordinaires deportemens dont il auoit vsé enuers les Iuges au procez de l'Admiral: Mesmes furent contre luy produits à tesmoins, quelques Conseillers qui auoient esté de la partie, & n'y eut rien qui tant luy nuisit que cela en sa condamnation. Comme on procedoit à son procez, la veufue & heritiers de l'Admiral obtindrent lettres Patentes addressees aux mesmes Iuges, pour faire reuoir le procez, se constituans demandeurs en declaration d'innocence.

De maniere que le 23 Auril 1545, fut donné arrest contre luy, par lequel pour les entreprises par luy faites outre son pouuoir, abus & exactions, il fut priué de l'Estat de Chancelier, & declaré inhabile à tenir office Royal; & encores condamné en la somme de cent mille liures enuers le Roy, & à tenir prison iusques à plein payement, & confiné iusques à cinq ans en tel lieu & seure garde qu'il plairoit au Roy. Arrest qui fut prononcé en la grand Chambre, l'Audience tenant, par Berruyer l'vn des quatre Notaires & Secretaires de la Cour. A la prononciation duquel le Chancelier fut present, & comme tous les astres auoient lors coniuré contre luy, aussi fut par les mesmes Iuges, à la poursuitte de la veufue & heritiers de l'Admiral, donné vn autre arrest, par lequel celuy de Melun fut declaré nul. Belle leçon à tout Iuge pour demeurer en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'vne imaginaire faueur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge.

Ie vous ay recité deux Histoires dont pourrez recueillir deux leçons: L'vne que quelque commission qu'vn Iuge reçoiue de son Prince, il doit tousiours buter à la Iustice, & non aux passions de celuy qui le met en oeuure, lequel reuenant auec le temps à son mieux penser, se repent apres de sa soudaineté, & recognoist tout à loisir celuy estre indigne de porter le tiltre de Iuge, qui a abusé de sa conscience pour luy complaire: L'autre que iamais vn Seigneur qui pour auoir eu bonne part en la faueur du Roy son Maistre, a esté employé aux grandes affaires, tombant en son indignation, ne doit permettre s'il luy est possible de tomber és mains de la Iustice, & qu'on luy face son procez, quelque innocence qu'il pense resider en luy. D'autant que ce qu'il estimoit, pendant sa vogue, vn peccadille, venant deuant les yeux des Iuges, est non seulement estimé peché mortel, ains criminel. Cela se manifesta aux deux Seigneur, qui soubs le Roy François tindrent deux des premieres dignitez de la France: en l'Admiral Chabot, & au Connestable de Montmorency. Celuy-là ayant brusquement respondu, qu'il faisoit pauois de sa conscience contre tous les Iuges: Et cestuy quand se voyant disgracié, il reblandit auec toute humilité la bonté du Roy son Maistre, & le supplia de se contenter, qu'il se retirast en sa maison. Qui estoit vne punition tres-griefue de le priuer de sa presence. Non qu'il se sentist moins innocent que l'autre, mais s'estant fait sage aux despens de la hardiesse de son compagnon.

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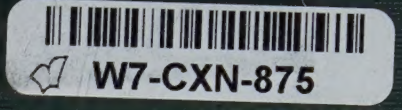
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